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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1958 -- JUNE 1958



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John Edgar Hoover, Director

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

January 1958--June 1958

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker (until publication was suspended on January 13, 1958) and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continued to stress the themes of peaceful coexistence and the abolishment of nuclear-weapons tests. Peaceful coexistence was hailed as the only alternative to "no existence." In this connection, the Party has continued its demands for a summit conference as a necessary step toward world peace.

The Party has consistently taken the side of the Soviet Union in the matter of missile bases in Europe and the Middle East, describing the establishment of such bases by the Western Powers as a provocative act which endangers world peace. Demands for a nuclear-free Germany continued. United States foreign aid was criticized as being part of a war program, and the Party line has consistently called for reciprocal trade agreements with the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries.

The Party continued to advocate recognition of communist China. General Charles de Gaulle's rise to power in France was termed a "fascist threat." The Party approved of the execution of the Hungarian leaders and claimed that the "imperialists" were using the incident as a

pretext to avoid a summit conference. The United States was charged with responsibility for the unrest in Latin America and the Middle East because of its support of colonialism in those areas. In all phases of international relations, the overriding theme of the Party line has been that the Soviet Union is at all times motivated by a desire for peace.

With reference to national affairs, the economic situation received the greatest emphasis. The Administration was criticized for its "do-nothing" policy. The President's budget was condemned for its emphasis on military expenditures at the expense of welfare items. A "butter, not guns" program was called for to relieve unemployment by providing funds for public works, health, schools, and general welfare. Socialism was held to be the only permanent answer to the economic problems of the United States.

The Party criticized labor-union leadership for not providing "effective political leadership" to the working class. The problems of unemployed workers received constant attention in the Party press. Tax cuts, wage increases, a shorter work week, and a \$1.50 minimum hourly wage were among the demands made to improve the lot of the workers. Organization of the unemployed was called for, as was the formation of a

mass labor-farmer coalition. The Party saw a threat of further restrictive legislation against labor in the congressional investigations of labor unions.

The Party called for more Government aid to agriculture, such aid to be keyed to the needs of the small farmer. Increased efforts were called for in the organizing of agricultural workers.

The Party continued to call for the abolition of congressional investigating committees and the loyalty program and for the repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, and all other anticommunist legislation. Amnesty was demanded for the Party leaders still serving sentences for violation of the Smith Act.

The issue of equal rights for Negroes was designated by the Party as "the foremost democratic cause of all America," the ultimate goal of which was complete integration and equal rights for Negroes and all other minorities. The public educational system in the United States was deemed "basically faulty;" and increased Federal aid to education was demanded. More cultural and scientific exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States were called for as a step toward world peace.

The Communist Party, USA, reaffirmed its belief in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concept of proletarian internationalism and continued to proclaim the possibility of the peaceful achievement of socialism in this country.

B. Conclusions

1. The Party has taken a stronger pro-Soviet position since February, 1958, when the left-wing leadership of the Party overwhelmingly crushed the right-wing faction. In the absence of any indication that the right-wing faction can muster any substantial support for its position in the near future, this pro-Soviet trend can be expected to continue.
2. During the past few months, the economic situation in the United States has provided the Party with ammunition for an intensified propaganda campaign designed to show the inherent superiority of the socialist system over an economy based on capitalism. As long as the current economic status continues, the Party can be expected to exploit it to full advantage in every way possible.
3. The current campaign by the Party to ban the testing of all nuclear weapons is expected to continue. In this regard, the Party can be expected more and more to lend its support to and actively participate in the activities of various noncommunist organizations which, for reasons of their own, are also seeking to ban nuclear-weapons tests.
4. The Communist Party, USA, seeks to create the impression that it is a legitimate political party. In furtherance of this aim, it is to be expected that future political campaigns will see an increase in the number of communist candidates for public office. In addition, the Party can be expected to participate more actively in behalf of selected noncommunists whom the Party will support for its own reasons.

5. The Party has long held itself out as the champion of the rights of Negroes in this country. Current developments in the controversial integration situation in the South can be expected to receive more and more propaganda attention from the Party.
6. The Communist Party, USA, recognizes that its goal of becoming the mass party of socialism in this country cannot be achieved from a position of isolation. In the coming months, therefore, it is to be expected that the Party, without losing its identity and when it is to its advantage to do so, will continue its efforts to engage in united action with other socialist organizations on issues of mutual interest.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The monopoly capitalists, who control United States foreign policy, are leading our country to national suicide.
2. World opinion favors the Soviet Union's proposal to hold a summit conference.
3. The testing of all nuclear weapons should be stopped.
4. Monopoly capital must be compelled to accept peaceful coexistence.
5. The establishment of missile bases in Europe and the Middle East endangers the peace of the world.
6. The ban on trade with socialist countries should be lifted.
7. U. S. foreign aid is part of a war program.
8. The United States should recognize communist China and establish formal diplomatic and trade relations with it.
9. The denuclearization of Germany would be a step toward peace.
10. Peace-loving Americans should demonstrate their opposition to De Gaulle's "illegal" assumption of power in France.
11. Imperialists are using the execution of Hungarian leaders as a pretext to avoid a summit conference.
12. The world center of economic and political strength is moving toward socialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"Who controls the United States and dictates its basic policies, foreign and domestic?

"The fact is that the basic economic and political power in our nation is held by a tiny handful of monopoly capitalists...."

"...giant corporations and the great banking combines--that which is broadly known as Wall Street--control our government, decide basic foreign policy, determine taxation for little people and fancy oil depletion allowances for oil trusts.

"...the Aramco oil cartel is far more decisive in determining American foreign policy in the Middle East than, all the voters of the South."

Editorial, The Worker,
February 2, 1958, p. 2.

"...In international affairs, the monopolists demand of our 'allies' in Europe and Asia that they provide bases around the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries for missile and hydrogen bomb warfare. They treat with contempt efforts by the Soviet Union to end H-bomb tests and arrive at peaceful relations. They line us up on the side of the monopolists of the other capitalist nations against the colonial peoples.

"They have, in effect, alienated and isolated us from the peoples of the rest of the world, at a time when universal friendship is the only alternative to death.

"And in our own country, their solution is to destroy the standard of living which our working class won only after bitter warfare. Freeze wages, increase the hours of work, hamstring the unions, those are the methods Wall Street proposes for meeting the challenge of the release of the energy of the atomc."

"Is it not clear that the making of our foreign policy cannot be entrusted to such 'craftsmen?' "

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 9.

"The Truman-Eisenhower foreign policy starts from the position that the Soviet Union is the enemy whose destruction would redound to the benefit of the United States. Ever since it appeared possible that the release of atomic energy might be transformed into a deliverable weapon, that weapon--thought of as the ultimate one--was looked upon as the instrument with which that fundamental aim could be accomplished."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, May, 1958, pp. 48-49.

2. Summit Conference

"Public opinion has compelled the Western governments to open a door a crack to the idea of negotiations with the Soviet Union.

"We must compel them to open the whole door for a serious Summit conference for disarmament and peace."

Daily Worker,
January 1, 1958, p. 2.

"...only an unalterable emphasis on negotiation with the other giant power of the world--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--can save us and the world from utter havoc; and that the expansion of trade agreements with the third of the world which is socialist, can be of aid in the growing recession."

"No policy today, be it the President's, or the Democratic leader, or any politician the imagination can conjure up, can carry a precinct unless he stands for a program of peace--and that means inevitably, more and more of our Allies are saying, peace talks with the socialist world."

Editorial, The Worker,
January 12, 1958, p. 2.

"...The politics of peace is always more attractive to the masses of mankind than the politics of war or cold war. The politics of peace flow as naturally and inevitably from the socialist system as do the politics of war and cold war from the capitalist imperialist system.

"That's why the American people who want peace need to throw their weight around much more actively to achieve a summit meeting that can move us all out of the shadow of nuclear catastrophe."

The Worker,
March 16, 1958, p. 14.

"WHILE A GOOD part of the world stares in amazement, shock, or dismay, John Foster Dulles has done it again. He used the press conference last week once more to rail against the persistent Soviet demands for a summit conference. Again he told the world from the conference room in the State Department building that the U.S. will not negotiate with the Russians because they are demanding too much.

"Unfortunately for Mr. Dulles, and fortunately for the cause of peace, his words are having less and less effect on the peoples in the NATO orbit."

The Worker,
March 30, 1958, p. 2.

"THE WORLD HAS moved a step closer to a summit conference as a result of the Soviet agreement that the foreign ministers meet first to arrange it. The Soviet agreement carries the proviso that there must be a firm commitment to hold a summit meeting. The Russians propose that such a meeting be held in June, with the foreign ministers getting together in April to prepare it.

"The Russians have made a genuine concession as to the procedure for organizing a summit conference without abandoning their opposition to the type of foreign ministers' meeting that would seek to preempt the function of a heads of government conference.

"The Soviet Union is holding fast to its original idea--and it looks as if world opinion is holding fast to the same idea--that the government leaders with the final responsibility for policy that will determine whether the human race survives or perishes are the ones that must talk it out and see how and to what extent they can accommodate their different views.

"THE PRESSURE for accommodation--for coexistence--comes not only from hundreds of millions of ordinary folk all over the world, but from certain business interests who recognize that the Dulles policy of trying to bully and blackmail the Soviet Union into submission is no less bankrupt than was the insistence of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes 35 years ago that the first socialist republic didn't exist."

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 1.

"...the threat from the Soviet Union is non-existent. Even American military men have on occasion admitted that there is no danger of an attack from the Soviet Union.

"Second, the question of who 'leads' and who 'falls behind' in the arms race is a mirage. As of now both sides are fully capable of destroying each other and the rest of the world."

.....

"What the peoples everywhere are pressing for is top-level negotiations with the Soviet Union. This is the road to real security for America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 7, 1958, p. 2.

"...We must reject the bankrupt foreign policy of the irresponsible monopolists who are leading us to national suicide. We must halt all H-bomb tests and ban use of the atom for war. We must seek out the way to peaceful coexistence of all the nations of the world."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 11.

3. Nuclear Tests

"Vast popular support has developed throughout the world for suspending nuclear weapon tests precisely because this is a limited issue, the ban could be easily enforced and it would give no advantage to either side that the other side wouldn't enjoy, and because continued testing affects human health everywhere."

The Worker,
January 19, 1958, p. 12.

"Public pressure, mounting throughout the world, should demand that a summit conference be convoked speedily. Its first point should be swift agreement to end the possibility of an overwhelming atomic tragedy for mankind."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 23, 1958, p. 2.

"The historic unilateral halt to nuclear weapons tests by the Soviet Union is being hailed by peace - lovers throughout the world. Our nation, the first to drop the A-bomb, should have been the first to stop the tests. This was not done despite the fact that a growing body of Americans of various political views have urged such a course.

"Today we have an opportunity to make a vast contribution to the cause of peace. This we can do by ending our own A- and H-bomb tests and, specifically, calling off the projected Marshall Island tests.

"This will not only help immensely to relax world tensions but will immeasurably reduce and halt radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere with its genetic damage to millions yet unborn.

"Our State Department, headed by Secretary John Foster Dulles, is engaged in a cynical obstruction of the national will, both in respect to ending nuclear weapons tests and convening speedily a summit conference.

"The American people, in a vast outpouring from their grass roots organizations, from trade unions, churches, civic groups and bodies, should make the national will felt in Washington now for an end to A- and H-bomb tests, prohibiting nuclear weapons, a prompt summit conference and expanded trade and cultural relations with the socialist countries--in short, for a settled national policy of peaceful co-existence, the only basis for preventing a nuclear war and building a durable peace."

The Worker,
April 6, 1958, p. 3.

"With renewed hopes for a peaceful world, American workers join with all people of our country and other lands in demanding a halt to nuclear tests and in calling for peace."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

4. Peaceful Coexistence

"...Monopoly capital must be compelled to accept peaceful co-existence..."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 53.

"THE HOPES of the nation and the world are focussed on Washington where the 85th Congress opens Tuesday as the life-and-death question before humanity awaits resolution. This question is the opening of U.S.-U.S.S.R. talks to find the basis for peaceful co-existence."

The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 1.

"ABOVE ALL ELSE, the American people want peace and good will in a nuclear age. They prefer co-existence to non-existence. They want to live abundantly and let live."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"...The historic process of the ascendancy of Socialism over capitalism reaches its apex in the fight of Socialism for world peace over the forces of imperialism making for war. World imperialism is

fundamentally war-like, developing a constant urge for wars between the imperialist powers themselves, for wars of imperialist powers against the colonial peoples, and for wars of imperialist powers against the Socialist states. World Socialism, however, is fundamentally peaceful, since there are no classes in a Socialist society which stand to gain anything from war. Because of these fundamental characteristics, world Socialism has emerged as the recognized outstanding champion of the whole world struggle for peace...."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 28.

"Embarrassments keep piling up for the present American government and will continue to do so as long as that policy conflicts with the real national interest and with the irrepressible desire for peace among the world's masses...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 53.

"AMERICAN car fans saw a Skoda for the first time at New York's International Automobile Show last month--and were visibly impressed with the product of Czechoslovakia's great industrial complex."

"... It's not only a solid piece of automobile; it's a vehicular example of peaceful co-existence. And that, no matter what auto fan club you belong to, is good in our book."

The Worker,
May 18, 1958, pp. 8, 11.

5. Missile Bases

"NOTHING REVEALS the essentially aggressive, antipeace policy of our State Department more than its attitude on missile bases in the Mideast."

"...If missile bases are jammed down the throats of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and the other countries of the Baghdad Pact--and the people of these nations are yet to be heard from on this issue--it can only sharpen tensions between these nations and their neighbors. How, for example, will India feel if its neighbor, Pakistan, has missile bases?

"The Soviet Union did the cause of world peace a service--and thus the peace aspirations of the American people--by its sharp statement of last week. It pointed out that placing missile bases in Baghdad Pact countries was part of the total Dulles plan of uniting 'under the same shingle the aggressive military alignments of NATO, the Baghdad Pact and SEATO (the Southern Asian Treaty Organization)'."

"Why should not the USSR, twice invaded during its 40-year history, be 'unhappy' about a hostile ring of bases? Would not the United States be similarly 'unhappy' if it found itself in similar circumstances?"

"The Soviet government clearly is exercising considerable 'self-control' and speaking exactly as any self-respecting nation would when it calls for the banning of missile bases in the Mid-East. It is, in essence, reminding Mr. Dulles and the great oil cartels whom he represents of what Mr. Dulles once correctly said.

"The USSR has thus done a service to the cause of world peace, which is exactly what one would expect from a country which is not ruled by oil millionaires but has a socialist economy based on production for use, not profit.

"Like or dislike the Socialist character of the Soviet state, Americans can see that Dulles' policy of new missile bases is provocative and endangers the peace of America and the world.

"Dulles and Dulles' policies must go. The voice of the great mass of Americans must be heard for a new direction in our foreign policy--a truly patriotic policy based on peaceful co-existence, negotiations, banning of A-tests, establishing of nuclear-free zones and a speedy summit conference."

Editorial, The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 2.

"These missile bases will be built for war against the Soviet Union, if the NATO governments let them be set up. They will be armed with Thor and Jupiter rockets. And atomic war can start at the push of a button."

The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 5.

6. Reciprocal Trade Agreements

"We support the extension of legislation for reciprocal trade agreements and urge its extension, without discrimination, to all countries including the Soviet Union, People's China, and the Eastern European countries. If we are to strengthen our domestic economy, we must remove all restrictions on loans to, and commerce with, the countries of the socialist world, as well as the other lands."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"Let the government lift its ban on trade with socialist countries, and new jobs would be opened for America's unemployed....

"In addition to providing jobs, such a course would also contribute to world peace--and hundreds of millions now spent by our government for planning destruction could be used to assure the public welfare."

The Worker,
May 25, 1958, p. 12.

"... Today it is no longer a matter for speculation on how big a market the socialist countries offer. And there is hardly an 'anti-recession' measure that can be turned to jobs faster than the available trade with countries populated by a billion souls. The AFL-CIO leaders overlooked trade with the socialist countries because they are still drawn back by their hard-bitten anti-Sovietism."

George Morris, "The Rising Struggle against Unemployment," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 5.

7. Foreign Aid

"... the stubborn fact is that the Congress is restive about the foreign aid program and the White House stage managers are exhibiting signs of desperation...."

"...for the most part the massive propaganda effort for the nearly \$4 billion mutual security appropriation fell on its face. Born in the worst period of the cold war, it still bears its ugly birthmark. It was sold to the delegates as the answer to the trade and aid policies of the Soviet Union. While there were, indeed, different stresses laid on different aspects of the program, ... the overall impact was that the U.S. foreign aid legislation was part of a war program."

The Worker,
March 2, 1958, p. 1.

"There are other aspects of Washington's foreign aid policy that don't sit well with the peoples of those countries. About 60 percent is direct military aid, usually extended to reactionary dictatorships. A big chunk of the rest is called 'defense support'--that is, it goes to shore up economies that would otherwise collapse because of the military burdens imposed on them by Washington.

"Of that minor portion which can be considered non-military economic aid, hardly any is ever allotted for industrial development... And attached to U. S. economic aid are nearly always political or military strings."

Daily Worker,
January 7, 1958, p. 2.

8. Communist China

"We urge the recognition of People's China and the establishment of normal diplomatic and trade relations with it and its admission into the United Nations."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

9. Germany

"RISING TO THE FORE in world consciousness is the suspicion that U.S. policy-makers--dragging their feet on the road to 'disengagement'--do so because they have pegged their foreign program to the nuclear rearmament of the Adenauer government...."

The Worker,
April 20, 1958, p. 2.

"The Eisenhower Administration has tried to sell the American people a gold brick: that at Geneva the Russians agreed to solve the whole German problem at one stroke and then broke their promise. The purpose of this fakery is to discredit the possibility of reaching workable agreements with the Soviet Union and therefore to pour cold water on the idea of a summit meeting.

"At the same time the Administration opposes simple, limited idea like denuclearization, which would mark a small step toward the solution of the German question and toward sparing Central Europe the horrors of nuclear warfare."

The Worker,
February 2, 1958, p. 9.

10. France

"THE EYES OF THE WORLD are on France where the peril of De Gaulle fascism is unfolding. The mask he put on his policies was torn off this week when his generals spread their conspiracy and their armed terror to Corsica, and to Tunisia whose people are being bombed by planes built in America.

"Americans can make no mistake about this: imperialist-minded generals and politicians (despite all their demagogic promises) will seek to have their way by fire and sword. The menace of spreading conflict hangs over us all at the moment that our nation's policy-makers and Britain's are accommodating themselves to a De Gaullist accession to power, as once they accommodated themselves to a Franco victory in Spain--with all its dire consequences."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 1, 1958, p. 2.

"The tragic picture was all too reminiscent of January 1933 in Berlin, Adolf Hitler, too, preferred 'constitutional' appointment to the

chancellorship so that he would enjoy the appearance of legality. General von Hindenburg, head of state, obliged. De Gaulle, obviously, is angling for a similar deal."

The Worker,
May 25, 1958, p. 1.

"THE FACT REMAINS that De Gaulle came to power illegally...."

The Worker,
June 8, 1958, p. 1.

"ALL DEMOCRATIC and peace-loving Americans should demonstrate their opposition to the murder of the French Republic and be on guard more than ever in defense of peace and civil liberties at home."

The Worker,
June 8, 1958, p. 14.

"Americans of democratic mind dare not forget that the Dulles' mentality vibrates to the same wave-length as that of De Gaulle's, and not to the French democrats."

The Worker,
June 1, 1958, p. 14.

11. Execution of Hungarian Leaders

"The Budapest Verdict

"MEN WHO manage to restrain their horror over the unceasing murder of Negroes in our South, and who can look the other way while Algerians enmasse are being tortured by the Gestapo-like Massu generals,

are in a virtuous rage today. DeGaulle, front man for aspirant fascists; Adenauer, surrounded by the blood-stained alumni of Hitler's Reich, and Chiang Kai-shek are among them. American congressmen, who lost no sleep when Guatemalan democracy was crushed, Batista henchmen who torture and kill Cuban schoolboys, are in the outraged company.

"It even includes President Eisenhower who could find no word to redress or safeguard the nine Negro children of Little Rock.

"All, in one clamoring chorus, lament the trial and the execution of the four Hungarians guilty of leading an armed insurrection against the workers' and farmers' state, and who invited foreign armies onto their soil to help them."

"... DESPITE THE imprecations of the dollar press today, there is no doubt that the accused were guilty of the most serious crimes against the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Nagy and the others did form conspiracies within the Hungarian Working Peoples' Party. They did plot to undermine the People's Democracy and restore a capitalist state.

"They were responsible, the indictment reveals, of assassinating 234 Hungarians, and they had lists drawn up of 10,000 more to be executed."

"NAGY, MALETAR and their co-conspirators were guilty of high treason. If one goes into the record known even before the trial, there can be no doubt that extreme reaction was in the saddle and that a fascist regime was impending when the Red Army returned to rescue Hungary from that fate. And not only Hungary was involved at that moment: the security of the entire socialist world was in peril. Nor is that all: had the armed plotters succeeded, the possibility of winning peace in the world would have been set back immeasurably, perhaps irretrievably."

"AND THE CAPITALIST outcry against the death sentence. There is only support or hallelujas for that penalty when it is applied for political acts against the capitalist system, or against imperialist rule in the colonies. But when the same penalty is brought in a case in the socialist world we hear only the wolf-howl of anguished indignation."

"These are a few of the facts to remember in the midst of the current din that is manufactured in the chancellories of imperialism. And all men of honesty, of peace, whatever their differences on the execution of Imre Nagy, should not allow themselves to be divided by imperialists who can stomach the idea of destroying the whole world by nuclear havoc. The foremost enemies of peace--the loudest shouters on the Hungarian situation--are using it as one further pretext to delay or to annul a meeting at the summit that could promote the fruitful co-existence of East and West."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 29, 1958, p. 2.

12. Socialist Expansion

"...During the past period, beginning with the Russian Revolution in 1917, but especially since World War II, vast and rapid changes politically have been taking place in the world. On the one hand, shattered by two great world wars, torn by various Socialist and colonial revolutionary movements, and weakened from within by the broad growth of trade unions, workers' parties, and other essentially anticapitalist organizations--world capitalism sinks deeper and deeper into general crisis. And on the other hand, a vast system of Socialist states has been created, embracing over one-third of humanity; many erstwhile colonial countries have broken their imperialist chains and, with an increasingly pro-Socialist orientation, have embarked upon a course of political independence; and a great growth of working-class organizations, as indicated, has taken place throughout the capitalist world. The general effect of all this is that the world center of actual economic and political strength has been moving more and more towards world Socialism--

indeed, it may well be that this center of world political gravity is already on the side of Socialism. This shift has been especially dramatized by the sensational launching of the Soviet satellite, Sputnik, an event which threw American capitalists almost into panic."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 52.

"The Soviet leaders, the Soviet press, have never spoken for war. Our guarantee lies in understanding the Soviet system and socialism. Socialism needs peace as an organism needs air. It can profit infinitely more by peace than by war. It has no need of war. It needs only time in which to create a new and better social system. It has made many sacrifices to America in the way of humiliations and insults in order to ease off the war tensions.

"Every time the Soviets have made an offer of peace, like the last note from Bulganin, we have insulted them with the same old contemptuous brush-off. 'It is only propaganda. The word of the Soviets cannot be trusted.'

"Dulles and Eisenhower are responsible for this doctrine. It can only mean ultimate war, since peace is declared altogether impossible...."

The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 8.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. U. S. economy stands at the threshold of a major depression.
2. The Communist Party, USA, has adopted a program to meet the effects of the current "recession."
3. The problem of inflation demonstrates the "need" for a socialist America.
4. Individual income tax exemptions should be raised to \$2,000 for heads of families and \$1,000 for dependents.
5. Increased Government spending is needed, but it must be for public works, health, schools, and other social needs, not for instruments of war.
6. A socialist America is needed to end monopoly control of our Government.
7. The President's budget is "based on protection of profits of the rich and conscienceless contempt for the needs of the mass."
8. Only in a socialist America will depressions and unemployment end forever.
9. Without the Communist Party, USA, the fight for social progress would be limited and the victory of socialism inconceivable.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Economic Picture

"THE ECONOMIC picture is getting more serious from day to day. The downtrend, far from slowing, is gaining in velocity. No one in his right mind denies that we are in a 'recession' or something worse...."

"...we are not just heading TOWARDS a 'recession' but are in it quite deeply and we may be heading towards something WORSE."

The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 4.

"...The economy today stands at the threshold of a major depression, which appears more imminent now than at any time since the end of the war. We are plainly in for something distinctly worse in character than 1948-49 or 1953-54.

"How much worse, we can at this moment only guess at. We can take little comfort, however, from assurances that it is unlikely to be another 1929. Even a depression of considerably smaller proportions will cause tremendous hardship and suffering; in fact, the present levels of employment are already a source of acute distress in many parts of the country. And even if matters were to get no worse, the continued recurrence of such recessions every few years is in itself serious cause for alarm."

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 8.

"BEHIND ITS CURRENT ballyhoo that the crisis is 'bottoming,' the Administration is scheming a cruel hoax on the unemployed who had been under

the illusion that legislation now in the works would extend unemployment insurance payments by 50%."

"The watered-down jobless pay and an almost flat assurance the Administration will not favor tax reduction this session, are the first consequences of the propaganda drive to convince Americans the decline is 'bottoming' and that relief measures are really not necessary."

The Worker,
June 1, 1958, p. 2.

"THE PRESIDENT, in issuing his optimistic statements, apparently believes there is nothing wrong with the economy that a Madison Avenue publicity campaign can't cure. The same theory guided former President Herbert Hoover's periodic 'prosperity-around-the-corner' predictions when the great depression of the thirties was building up."

"What concerns us is not so much that our President's unfounded predictions make him ridiculous but that his statements may lull some Americans who should be aroused to the fact that we are on the threshold of a full-scale depression.

"The country needs to be aroused to the danger. In face of an administration policy of doing virtually nothing, when even Senators of the President's own party are calling for more substantial steps, the country needs above all at this moment demonstrations of indignant workers and farmers in its public squares or at factory gates to dramatize the issues."

Editorial, The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 2.

2. Communist Party, USA, Program

"The Communist Party national committee unanimously adopted a comprehensive program to meet the effects of the current recession. The 60-member committee met last week-end."

"Included in the program adopted were demands for wage increases; against speed-up; legislative action to guarantee the shorter work-week without pay cuts; \$1.50 hourly minimum wage; a stepped-up struggle against employment discrimination visited on Negro, Puerto Rican and other minorities; a tax cut with exemptions raised to \$1,000; raising of unemployment insurance to level of two-thirds of weekly wages; Federal aid to provided mortgage moratorium for small homeowners; a wide-scale public works program; and an expanded program of trade with the socialist countries, based on the concept of peaceful co-existence."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 16.

"The times call for emergency action..."

"The proposed tax cut, through lifting of exemptions from \$600 to only \$700, is so modest that even some congressmen said it wasn't enough. With non-white unemployed at more than twice the rate of whites, fair employment legislation and executive action, is an immediate need. Another potential immediate source of jobs, totally ignored by the conference, is expansion of trade with socialist countries. The movement for amending the Wage-Hour law to cut hours to 35 weekly, should be revived."

"Then there are measures which the unions are already taking up in some areas, through resolutions before their city councils and state legislatures, for a moratorium on mortgages and installments of unemployed, or some federal forms for refinancing such debts. This must be done before repossessions, foreclosures and mass marches to pawnbrokers spread throughout America."

Editorial, The Worker
March 30, 1958, p. 2.

"We urge immediate enactment of the following measures which, in the main have been proposed by the labor movement and progressive farm organizations, as minimum measures to halt the recession and promote economic security:

"A federal system of unemployment insurance covering all workers, with benefits equal to two-thirds of weekly earnings for one year.

"A 30-hour week with no reduction in pay on all government work.

"Increase the minimum wage to \$1.50 per hour and extend its coverage.

"Increase old age insurance benefits to \$200 monthly.

"Provide for federal refinancing on long terms and at low interest of home mortgages and installment purchases on which workers, farmers, professionals and others cannot meet payments because of loss of jobs and income."

"Provide for a federally-financed low-cost housing program to construct a minimum of one million units annually, to be made available without discrimination or segregation.

"End the give-away of our natural resources by adopting a regional program for Federal development of our river valleys and a federal resources conservation program with full power to control the exploitation of all natural resources."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"The false optimism emanating from the Administration is clearly designed to further a phony Madison Avenue-type campaign to headline ourselves back to 'prosperity,' when the need is for immediate tangible steps

to raise and extend benefits for the unemployed, improve relief standards, cut the taxes of small-income people, develop trade with the eager buyers in the lands of socialism, and expand public works, housing and school construction."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 20, 1958, p. 2.

3. Inflation

"...The fight against inflation is therefore a fundamental part of the economic struggles of labor and its allies. To be effective, it must be based on a comprehensive program which should include the following major points:

"1. Higher wages and shorter hours.* If they are not to fall increasingly behind in the race with rising prices, workers are compelled to fight for frequent and substantial wage increases. Moreover, wage demands must be made independently of productivity increases.* This applies with special force to the demand for a shorter work week with no cut in pay, which entails a considerable increase in hourly rates. Employer propaganda tying wages to prices, which has unfortunately had widespread effects among workers, must be vigorously combatted.

"2. Monopoly prices.* The need for curbing monopoly price-fixing is becoming very widely apparent....

"...Serious consideration needs to be given to proposals for actual regulation of monopoly prices by government agencies, treating all monopolies as we now do public utilities, and in some cases to proposals for outright nationalization of enterprises.

"3. Tax reductions.* Lower taxes, like higher wages, are a means of offsetting increased prices and enlarging mass purchasing power. What is required, however, is not a general tax cut, but rather the shifting of more of the tax burden to the big corporations and wealthy individuals. Since 1939,

* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

there has been a steady rise in the share of the tax load borne by low-income groups. This trend must be reversed through higher income tax exemptions, the repeal of a number of exise taxes, and similar measures.

"4. Reduction of military expenditures.* This is essential to the struggle against inflation. Unfortunately, most of organized labor has opposed cuts in military outlays, and has on the contrary called for higher arms budgets, both to 'fight world communism' and to provide jobs. But such a position is wrong and, in the end, self-defeating. An unceasing fight must be waged to reduce armaments expenditures and to spend the money instead for housing, schools, health and other socially useful purposes.

"The threat of inflation, it must be borne in mind, is inherent in the boom-bust character of capitalist production....Within the framework of capitalism, therefore, workers can hope to do little more than combat the effects of inflation and prevent big business from saddling them with its costs.

"Marxists should make clear that the fight against inflation can be fully won only in a society in which the means of production are publicly owned and in which production is for use, not profit--a society in which wars, military budgets, monopoly price-gouging and economic crises will be evils of the past. In short, the problem of inflation is but another demonstration of the need for a socialist America."

Hyman Lumer, "The Problem of Inflation," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 38, 39.

4. Income Taxes

"... Individual income tax exemptions should be raised to \$2,000 for heads of families and \$1,000 for each dependent. Taxes on incomes in the top brackets should be increased and all loopholes should

* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

be plugged. Sales, excise and other taxes bearing most heavily on the lowest income groups should be reduced or abolished."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"There has been some talk of a Democratic plan to lift exemptions from \$600 a person to \$700. This would ease slightly the burden of taxation on the workingclass and other low income groups, though it is very far from getting back to the original income tax principle. Yet even this will have rough sailing in the coming session of Congress, in face of the hysteria over military expansion."

Editorial, Daily Worker
January 2, 1958, p. 2.

"...With 4,500,000 unemployed--and more to come--the fight for tax reduction would be greatly helped by agreements with Russia that would lead to arms reduction and cuts in military expenditures. Clearly, Mr. and Mrs. American have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a summit conference."

The Worker,
March 2, 1958, p. 14.

5. Social Welfare

"To protect the people from the ravages of depression, money will of course have to be spent by the federal government. But it must be spent for socially useful purposes, benefitting the masses of the people. The monopoly program of reliance on war economy must be vigorously fought at every turn. The demand must be 'butter, not guns.' "

"Increased government spending is needed today, but it must go for public works, health, schools, pensions and other social needs, not for instruments of war. In its own interests, labor must, in contrast to its present policy, fight for reduction of arms expenditures and the diversion of these funds to useful peacetime purposes."

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 11.

"...To provide jobs, immediate action is needed to launch vastly expanded federal, state and local public works programs for building schools, hospitals and other public buildings, for construction of one million low-cost housing units a year, and for new conservation, flood control and power projects throughout the country."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"Establish a complete federal health insurance system with facilities and personnel, providing free medical services."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"...present-day unemployment insurance benefits are entirely insufficient to meet even the minimum needs of the unemployed worker...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 15.

"...The present grossly inadequate benefits must be drastically increased. A federal law is needed covering every working person and providing benefits equal to at least two-thirds of previous earnings for as long as the unemployment lasts."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"...Even at the miserable levels which now prevail, local governments are totally unprepared for the huge relief burdens which have begun to develop. More than one city has already had a relief crisis. Immediate emergency action is required to provide sharp increases in federal and state contributions, with the calling of special sessions of state legislatures where necessary. Standards of relief must be greatly improved, and distribution of surplus foods must be simplified and expanded."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

6. Monopoly Control

"FRANTIC EFFORTS of Washington politicos of both major parties to bury quietly the major revelations of Dr. Bernard Schwartz about the Federal Communications Commission, are now under way."

"...the details, important though they be, can be understood best only in the perspective of the two-party system and the basic monopoly control of that system.

"Otherwise, the current scandal will be seen and dismissed only as some accidental episode, caused by some 'bad' men. Yet a detailed examination shows that it illustrates a basic tendency inherent in the monopoly control of the two-party system."

"Doubtless much can be done today by labor and other groups about the current situation. But the more far-reaching conclusions can only be drawn and the anti-monopoly steps taken in the course of the political struggle for the building of great popular anti-monopoly coalition in the nation."

"And, ultimately, these scandals will be ended when the monopoly source of them is ended--when in a socialist America the great banks, industries and communications will be socially owned--and not simply formally 'regulated'--by the productive American people and run for public use and not private profit."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, pp. 1, 14.

"THE MONOPOLIES are the real U. S. Government today...."

"A. T. & T. is the biggest monopoly in the capitalist world."

"What is needed most is nationalization of the phone trust. And a People's Government is needed for that."

The Worker,
April 20, 1958, p. 6.

7. The Budget

"IT HAS BEEN the settled policy of our Washington rulers to try, by artificially-induced hysterias over non-existent dangers of aggression, to persuade the American people that our national existence depends on surrender of the social gains of the New Deal.

"This policy has not been successful,. These New Deal social gains have remained a permanent part of the American scene, though without much significant addition over the years.

"When the Soviets launched their Sputniks, the masters of White House propaganda seized upon them as God-given instruments for projecting a new hysteria of outer-space proportions. Under cover of this new hysteria. Eisenhower has once again proposed cutting out substantial social aspects of the budget.

"His budget message of last week asked for \$74 billion dollars, of which \$46 billions was for 'national security.' Something over 60 percent thus goes for military and related purposes.

"THE PRESIDENT wants \$3 billion dollars more for these purposes than spent in 1957. To make up for this added money, he says, he wants to cut funds for the aged needy, for dependent children, for construction of schools, for housing, for farm price support funds, for rural electrification, for hospital construction, for land reclamation and other public works, for aid to sick veterans.

"In short, the President's program calls for sacrifices on the part of the lame, the halt, the blind, the seekers of homes, the farmers striving desperately to hold on to their farms, the nation's children and its hapless veterans, in order to pay for added war preparations.

"The President does not ask a single nickel from the fabulous Texas oil multi-millionaires, the vast profit-takers in all trustified industries who have mulcted the people, and continue to mulct them, of billions in tax loop-holes and in swollen government contracts.

"If ever there was a class budget, one based on protection of profits of the rich and conscienceless contempt for the needs of the mass, this is it!"

Editorial, The Worker,
January 19, 1958, p. 2.

"...a budget message whose emphasis on military expenditures and slashes in welfare items certainly do not point in the direction of top-level negotiations that can ease international tensions and put a brake on the nuclear arms race."

The Worker,
January 19, 1958, p. 12.

"...The people must debate this budget and fight for a people's budget based on peaceful co-existence and the people's welfare."

Editorial, The Worker,
January 19, 1958, p. 2.

8. Capitalism versus Socialism

"The current economic situation demonstrates anew the basic instability of the American economy. It bears out the position taken in the Main Political Resolution of the 16th National Convention of the Party, which states:

"...despite the prolonged prosperity and despite the significant new features which have emerged in the American economy, the basic contradictions inherent in capitalist production are not abating but are becoming sharper. The fundamental factors making for economic crisis continue to operate today, no less than in the twenties--in particular, the basic factor which Marx described as the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit,' while the actual purchasing power of the masses remains relatively restricted and lags increasingly behind.

"The boom, with its growing credit inflation, only conceals the sharpening contradiction between the forces of production and the

capitalist relations under which they are operated--a contradiction which can be finally resolved in the people's interests only through the establishment of a socialist society. The Marxist theory of crisis is not invalidated by the prolonged period of prosperity.' "

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 8

" 'Misery, starvation, evictions and suffering stalk millions of our fellow workers who are unemployed...' 'People's capitalism' has become literally people's misery. Is this the way American capitalism is going to automatically better the condition of the workers, free the Negro people, help colonial liberation and champion peace as was contended by pseudo-Marxists in and out of our ranks so that a vanguard Communist Party and not even a left was necessary?' "

The Worker,
May 11, 1958, p. 3.

"...Is the capitalist economy simply managed badly or is there something fundamental about the capitalist system that brings forth periodic depressions and mass joblessness of varying severity, like those of 1945-46, 1949-50, 1953-54 and now in 1957-58?

"And if these heart-attacks can be 'planned' every four years, can they also be 'cured' by such artificial means?"

"...to picture our capitalist economy as run by a few men on a chessboard who move its parts at will as pawns on a board, is very naive, or an effort to evade the real question."

"... Through organizations and governments, people can affect the economy, but they cannot reverse the basic laws that move it. One of the biggest falsehoods capitalism has fed the people is the idea that persons in high office or a political party,* have made a 'boom' or caused a depression."

"CLEARLY THERE IS something more fundamental involved and we have to come back to the century-old proposition of scientific socialists the -- Marxists -- that it is the private ownership that is at root of the sickness in our economy. Just as medication and care may relieve a heart condition, so do the 'built-ins.' But they don't cure it. The best proof of that is that countries with a population of a billion that have gone socialist -- with the means of production made public property under the planned management of those who work in them -- don't have these heart-attacks."

"WE HAVE TO WAGE a struggle, of course, for everything that may limit the harm capitalist economy and its periodic convulsions have on the people. In that respect the Communists do not yield second place to anyone, as history has proved. But it is high time labor waged this struggle with its eyes open; aware that the ultimate real solution is a socialist economy."

The Worker,
February 16, 1958, pp. 9, 11.

"... For Socialism is triumphantly advancing today. It is raising the living standards of nearly one billion men, women and children.

* This probably should read "party."

It is protecting the independence of former colonial nations and preserving world peace. It is demonstrating to the whole world that working people need not be exploited by capitalists any longer...."

The Worker,
April 20, 1958, p. 8.

"The greatest of historical developments is the socialist revolution. We live in the time of that epoch, at its beginning, indeed. It has moved a billion people forward, out of the realm of blind necessity towards the era of the conscious and informed conduct of social life. All revolutionary transformations of the past have been accompanied by great difficulty; there is no reason to expect that this most revolutionary of all social transformations should occur without difficulty. The difficulties from within and without have appeared and more will appear; they are to be faced and overcome. In the facing, one must himself not be overcome.

"The movement for socialism is the greatest movement for human freedom in all history. In that movement none has been so staunch and so effective as the Communist. From this fact must come pride and confidence--qualities far different from arrogance, and from self-abnegation."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 28.

"While we struggle for every advance, for every demand to improve the living standards and liberties of our class and of the mass of the American people, we also strive for the achievement of socialism as the way of life for the American people.

"... Unemployment and insecurity, poverty and slums, brutal discrimination against the Negro people and minorities, and every form of political and social injustice are among the evils bred by capitalism. They are with us today in our rich and powerful country.

"...Capitalism with his history of wars, brutal imperialism and mass suffering can never meet the highest desires and needs of the people. Only a socialist American can do so."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

"But while unemployment mounts here and the American people prepare to fight it, the latest economic reports from the Soviet Union speak of 1957 as another year free of unemployment. And while production here was declining, Soviet production rose in 1957 by another 10 per cent.

"Herein lies the contrast between a socialist and capitalist economy--between an economy free of depressions, with ever-rising production, employment and living standards, and an economy which is continually beset by epidemics of falling production and growing joblessness and privation.... Only a socialist America will end the scourge of unemployment and depression forever."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 25.

"...In order for the United States, or any capitalist country, to 'catch up' with the Soviet Union, it will be necessary to make a basic change in the structure of society, namely to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 28.

9. Future Role of the Communist Party, USA

"...the CPUSA is very much better off than it used to be. This is because it now foresees a road to Socialism in this country that will appear as very realistic and much more acceptable to American workers. The Party must know how to make the most of this very valuable point. The Party has also a more realistic attitude towards the Soviet Union, with its new attitude of comradely criticism of that country. This also removes a great handicap that the Party suffered from in the past. But the Party must eliminate from its work the recently developed Right tendencies to snipe at the USSR and to minimize its past, present, and future Socialist role. The USSR is the outstanding leader of world Socialism, a fact of which capitalism is well aware. The question of teaching the workers the significance of Socialism takes on double importance now, with the sharp growth of anti-Socialist agitation under the guises of the welfare state and people's capitalism. These are vital new phases in our Socialist work."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 61.

"THE DENNIS RESOLUTION, which was established as the definitive policy of the party, clearly sets forth the party's character as defined by the 16th convention, in these words:

"The convention emphasized the indispensable vanguard role of a Marxist working class party of socialism, and the necessity of striving as such to win mass influence and leadership for our party. It declared that the party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is motivated by both the highest patriotism toward our own country and the great concept of proletarian internationalism.

"It defined the party as a party of action--not a debating society--in which the minority must be subordinated to the majority once a decision is

taken. At the same time, it took steps to combat bureaucracy, reinforcing inner-party democracy to assure the fullest contribution of all members in the making and execution of policy, while prohibiting all factions and anti-party groupings and practices.

" 'The convention also underscored the fact that the party is not a temporary organization nor a holding operation, supposedly serving as a stepping stone to some nebulously-defined successor. The party is here to stay. Without it, the fight for social progress will be limited and the victory of socialism is inconceivable.

" 'The mass party of socialism for which we strive must also be a party of this type--a working class vanguard party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism. It must not be confused with other types of political parties of a united front character, or with an idea of a so-called united socialist party in which adherents of Marxism-Leninism would be only one among a number of other ideological currents. Nor should it be confused with the urgent need of promoting united front relations and cooperation between Communists and other pro-socialists elements.' "

" 'For us--American Marxists who fight for peace, democracy and socialism--the party is our most precious possession. This is why we American Communists, like Communists everywhere, treasure our party, and will make every effort and sacrifice to preserve and build it... .

" 'We call on all party members to defend the party, and to fight for its Marxist-Leninist program, theory and principles. We call on all party members and organizations to strive to develop the maximum political and organizing initiatives and participation in the momentous mass struggles of today, to meet the great challenge of 1958. By so doing, we will strengthen the party and its mass ties and influence. And we shall help shape the course of events in the interests of our class and our country.' "

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, pp. 3, 14.

"... We must restore in the Party a clearer concept of the major Leninist policy of democratic centralism. This policy, containing as it does the two indispensable elements of democracy and centralization, is the only possible policy for a fighting Party.... The Party, therefore, must learn to apply the policy more effectively, and in harmony with American conditions and traditions. We must have a Party in which, not only do the members accept the Party program and pay their dues, but they also carry on Party work. There must be a political line that is obligatory and a sound Party discipline. There must be the broadest possible participation of the membership in policy making at all levels. Dissent must be permitted, but no factionalism. Party papers must be controlled by the Party and required to express the Party line."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 61-62.

"... Unquestioned loyalty to the party and a readiness to fight for it against its attackers must be established as fundamental criteria for Communists, above all for leading Communist cadres...."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 13.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Unemployment, which is rising in the United States, "is as strange in the Soviet Union as cannibalism."
2. Organization of unemployed workers by labor unions is necessary in the fight for welfare and jobs.
3. Union leaders are not giving "effective political leadership" to the working class.
4. The Communist Party, USA, has the opportunity to function as vanguard in the labor movement.
5. The working class must have its mass party, such as a Labor-Farmer Party.
6. Big business has stepped up its antilabor offensive in order to try to saddle the workers with the burden of the economic slump.
7. The enactment of antilabor legislation is the real purpose behind the congressional hearings on racketeering in labor unions.
8. In periods of rising unemployment, the struggle against job discrimination must be brought to the fore.
9. A shorter work week with no cut in pay must be kept in the forefront as a major demand.
10. Automation, which has presented the labor movement with a new and complex problem, eventually will be so widespread that only socialism will save the workers from idleness and starvation.
11. The peaceful advance to socialism in this country can be realized only by a powerful labor movement, one that is sympathetic to the workers' "historic class goal of Socialism."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Unemployment

"... Unemployment is rising at fantastic speed. The government in Washington is trying to kid us by making us believe that this is just a passing phenomena. That this is not a beginning of a real depression, perhaps with the same results we had before.

"President Eisenhower is receiving committee after committee in Washington telling them that he would not be 'panicked by alarmists' in regards to the unemployment situation all over the country.

"But Negroes, Puerto Ricans and many others who belong to the last-hired and first-fired class, together with millions of others skilled and unskilled workers are gradually starving in unhealthy holes for which they have to pay astronomical rents...."

The Worker,
March 30, 1958, p. 15.

"Unemployment in America is now over 5 1/2 million, and growing; our industrial production is slowing down considerably; and the other capitalist countries of the world are rapidly being dragged down into the crisis. At the same time, the industrial production and the standard of living of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries keep rising steadily. The world is able to see in this another glaring example of the superiority of the Socialist system over capitalism."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 24.

"... Unemployment is as strange in the Soviet Union as cannibalism."

The Worker,
March 23, 1958, p. 8.

2. Organizing the Unemployed

"... As joblessness grows and becomes more chronic, it becomes increasingly necessary for unions in each locality to take steps to bring the unemployed workers together in organized forms for the purpose of fighting for welfare and jobs, side by side with those still working. In the case of unorganized workers, special approaches to the problem of organizing the unemployed may be necessary."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"Marxists and other Left-progressives find much ground for criticizing labor's leadership today on its economic outlook and policy. The issue today is no longer, as in 1929, whether unions should be interested in the problems of the unemployed. How those problems are met, the scope of the program and the extent to which rank and file participation is encouraged in the struggle for it, are the issues today...."

George Morris, "The Rising Struggle against Unemployment," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 3.

3. Union Leadership

"... the trade-union leaders are giving anything but 'effective political leadership' to the working class. The need for the type of

leadership that will come from effective cooperation between the Left and the Progressive elements is a burning one...."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958,
p. 64.

"THE LEADERSHIP of our trade union movement is as disoriented and aimless today as it was during the 'prosperity' twenties and the crisis days of the early thirties that followed...."

"Most disturbing perhaps is the silence and inaction of those in the top and middle layers of trade union leadership, who in recent years talked much of labor's need of a 'dynamic' policy, a 'broader vision' and a 'new look' at many problems...."

The Worker,
May 25, 1958, p. 7.

"...the great bulk of the unions are now dominated by a conservative leadership, without a peer in this respect in the capitalist world, and they have harmful policies to fit. The truth is that in the American labor movement, instead of coming from such corrupt and conservative elements, the progressive leadership has always come from the pressure of the Left and Progressive forces, and there is no good reason to suppose that it will be otherwise in the near future. These forces, working together, built the modern trade-union movement, and for the most part, they did it in the face of violent opposition from the conservative leadership...."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958,
p. 54.

4. The Vanguard Party

"...Our Party is not 'a' but 'the' vanguard Party. This is because it is the bearer of Marxism-Leninism and it tries to put into effect this basic philosophy and program of the working class. The opportunity to function as vanguard in the labor movement lies open before our Party on every front in the class struggle...."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 63.

"...the stronger our party becomes, the more its influence is extended (in the unions and the mass organizations of the people), the greater and more successful will be the struggle for jobs, for shorter hours, for expanded unemployment insurance, for really effective and adequate FEPC regulations."

"Our entire party must become permeated with the understanding and the feeling that our chief problems as a party are the problems of our class and of its allies; the problems of the unemployed worker and his family; of the mother concerned with fallout and the dangers of atomic blast; of the Negro worker concerned with more far-reaching and effective FEPC legislation, the equalizing of unemployment insurance standards in the South, and the right to vote."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, pp. 4, 13.

"... The United Front:* The Party must re-develop this fundamental and effective Leninist policy, especially in the form of Left-Progressive cooperation in the trade unions. This was the means by which we built the Party and made it a real influence in the labor movement. And despite all the changes and advances in the labor movement, the policy basically still

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

retains its validity. . . . Our job is to find the practical ways to enter into active collaboration with the Progressives, not to deny that they exist. This is the broad road to trade union unity and to progress generally in the unions.

"...it is imperatively necessary to activate the combined Progressive forces in the unions, including within the general meaning of this term all those elements, whatever their past attitudes, who are taking a progressive course with regard to the given issue or situation."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 62-63.

5. Labor-Farmer Party

"... Trade unions as such are not enough: the working class must have its mass party; in this case, a Labor-Farmer Party."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 55.

"It is the great obligation of labor to utilize the growing opportunities to forge a democratic alliance of labor, the farmers, the Negro people, the intellectuals and small business to fight for a peacetime anti-depression program; to curb the monopolies; to strive for the election of a Congress and state legislatures responsive to the needs and will of the people; and to join hands with their brothers in all lands, East and West, to avert the catastrophe of nuclear warfare and to achieve good neighbor relations and peaceful co-existence among all nations. To fulfill these responsibilities is the solemn duty of the best leaders and the rank and file of labor, in the first place of the Communists and other class conscious and militant workers."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 2, p. 4.

"The CPUSA must resume its agitation for the eventual formation of a mass Labor Farmer Party--as the workers, generally on the march, are obviously moving towards independent political action.. In this agitation, however, we must, as the main resolution states, realize that the Labor-Farmer Party is 'not the only form' of mass political action--there may eventually be much broader coalitions, and we see now that there may also be far narrower ones. Its neglect of the Labor-Farmer Party slogan has been one of the most serious shortcomings in the history of the Communist Party."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II, "Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 59.

"What the labor movement and its allies did not do even during the Roosevelt New Deal--when they exerted tremendous influence on the political course in Washington--should be repaired as quickly and as much as possible today: successfully put forward and elect labor candidates, armed with a labor and people's program."

"The Communist Party has one central task in the elections and that is to work self-sacrificingly in every way to achieve the maximum victory for labor and the people--Negro and white--and to impose the biggest defeat upon the monopolies and the crooked political machines around the issues of jobs, peace, civil rights and civil liberties. It will participate in and help to organize -- jointly with any other labor and peoples organization -- mass struggle around the most elementary and vital needs of the people...."

The Worker,
June 1, 1958, pp. 4, 16.

6. Antilabor Offensive

"...In its determination to saddle the workers with the burden of the economic slump, big business has greatly stepped up its anti-labor offensive. Intense campaigns to pass 'right-to-work' laws are being waged in

many states, and the use of the Taft-Hartley Act against labor is being increased through conspiracy trials and other devices. A determined struggle is required to defeat all 'right-to-work' and other anti-labor legislation, and for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 25.

"Today, labor demands freedom from Taft-Hartley shackles, while mobilizing against 'right-to-work' and other vicious anti-labor laws and against smears, slanders and investigations."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

7. Labor Racketeering

"... Members of the Senate Rackets Committee, including chairman John L. McClellan, said today they were hopeful Congress would pass new laws imposing government restrictions on unions. The theme stressed by each was 'protection' of the members of unions from their leaders. But it was equally clear that the designed legislation was timed to set up virtual government control over the life of unions in the guise of 'protecting' the members."

Daily Worker,
January 6, 1958, p. 4.

"The committee will aim its hearings to provide ammunition and 'atmosphere' for legislation by its members to curb political activities of unions and to restrict strike activities, particularly the boycott weapon."

The Worker,
February 16, 1958, p. 12.

"THE SENATE racket committee, it need hardly be repeated here, is far more interested in a dead labor movement than in a 'clean' one. Its investigations have been directed primarily with the view of spotlighting the dirty parts of unions to 'justify' the enactment of new anti-labor laws."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 1, 1958, p. 2.

8. Job Discrimination

"...In periods of rising unemployment, it is the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican workers who are first to be laid off. Moreover, in such periods they are subjected to greatly intensified discrimination in employment. Hence the struggle against job discrimination must be brought to the fore and considerably sharpened on all fronts."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

9. Shorter Work Week

"Shorter hours with increased take-home pay remain a basic need of America's workers. Current conditions of economic recession demonstrate this as well as the fact that winning them will require unity of the employed and unemployed, together with vigorous struggle by organized labor."

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 12.

"...In the face of growing joblessness, the need for a shorter work week with no cut in pay becomes all the more urgent. It must be kept in the forefront as a major demand, and all attempts to sidetrack it must be opposed."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 23.

"A shorter work week with increased take-home pay, coupled with drastic surbs on speedup, would help spread employment opportunities, save workers' health, and bolster purchasing power. A bigger share of the auto monopolies' profits is a small price to pay for this contribution to the public welfare."

The Worker,
June 1, 1958, p. 13.

10. Automation

"...automation, no longer a novelty, has already run a considerable way and it has been definitely PROVEN that under our 'free society' it brings only negative results for the men and women who work for wages....

"...automation cannot provide blessings to the workers under capitalism, the system under which the means of production are owned and controlled by those who profit from labor....

"...the workers should be told the truth, that for workers there is no BASIC permanent solution of the problem of automation under capitalism."

"...today, more than any time in a century, the world looks to socialism for the basic solution."

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 9.

"But such is the law of capitalism: when an economic downturn -- such as we now have every four and five years, -- hits, competition for the narrowed market becomes fiercer among the giants, and the drive to 'cut costs' -- in the first place human manpower, is all the fiercer."

"...how can automation...become a 'blessing' to workers in capitalist America? Whence will come the jobs for the multitudes of displaced Americans?"

The Worker,
February 2, 1958, pp. 7, 11.

"IN THE ENGINE assembly room we saw part of the process (here in the hands of older workers) already done by automation. It gives one a weird feeling to watch the machine system that moves things along, stops and starts without human guidance, checks and inspects and suddenly reaches its mechanical claws in to pull out anything defective. It is a foreshadowing of things to come or already here in many places--complete automation, which has presented the labor movement with a new and complex problem. Eventually it will be so widespread that only Socialism will save the masses of workers from idleness and starvation and give them the benefits of scientific production."

The Worker,
January 19, 1958, p. 9.

11. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"...A militant forecast of future struggle in no sense conflicts with the Party's correct perspective of the possibility in the United States of a peaceful and parliamentary road to Socialism; for such a peaceful advance can only be realized by a powerful labor movement, able and willing to suppress the counter-revolutionary attempts of the monopolists and to maintain the necessary democracy in the country to enable the workers to proceed peacefully to their historic class goal of Socialism."

William Z. Foster, "The Party Crisis and the Way Out, Part II," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 55.

IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The organization of agricultural workers into effective unions is of paramount importance.
2. Agricultural aid must be keyed to the needs of the small-scale farmers.
3. Farm price supports must be maintained.
4. A farmer-labor coalition is necessary to combat the growing domination of agriculture by the monopolies.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Organize the Agricultural Workers

"...effective and militant mass struggles in which farm policy is part of the program of a people's coalition* could help wring concessions that will offer more stability to the small and medium-sized farmers."

Carl Ross, "The National Farmers' Union," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 10.

"Three most significant features of U.S. agriculture are: The steady and rapid elimination of farmers; the chronic crisis of 'over-production'; the fact that many millions of rural people constitute the rock bottom of the economic and social ladder."

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"The most important future class struggles in the countryside will be fought by the agricultural workers--the lowest paid and most impoverished group in the U.S...."

"We will unite with all who are sincerely interested in shielding poor and middle farmers from their enemies and in saving them from extinction as farmly farmers...."

"The key question for agricultural workers is their organization into effective unions...."*

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, pp. 11, 13, 14, 17.

2. A Suggested Program

"1. Parity prices paid to a farm operator must cover only that amount of production necessary to sustain a family farmer....

"2. All cuts in acreage or production must be taken on the big producers, with a minimum level of production absolutely protected against any cut-back....

"3. Loans at very low interest rates must be made available to family farmers only.

"4. Federal hail, drought and other crop insurance should cost a nominal amount on that quantity of production necessary to maintain a family farmer.

"5. A graduated land tax that sharply increases the rate of property taxation on large holdings....

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"6. Agricultural workers must be organized and their living standards raised to the level of factory labor...."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, pp. 15, 16.

"Enact the income-parity provisions of the Brannan Plan. Provide 100 percent federal crop and livestock insurance. Establish a fund for loans to small farm owners, tenant farmers and share-croppers for acquisition of land, equipment, and supplies."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"Communists made notable contributions to farm struggles during the Great Depression. With the same spirit of dedication and with a Marxist understanding of the trends in U.S. agriculture, our Party can again play a vital role in the countryside."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 18.

3. Farm Price Supports

"...The most immediate need is a reversal of the Eisenhower policy of cutting parity payments, which are being reduced to 60 per cent of parity. Payments should be raised to a full 100 per cent of parity. Cheap credit for farmers should be made available from government sources. Steps should be taken to ease the lot of farm laborers, especially migratory workers, and to provide them with the benefits now available to other workers."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, pp. 24-25.

"THE PRESIDENT wept last week and then vetoed the farm price bill which would have sustained price supports at current levels."

"The Administration shows no interest in unfreezing the controls through which the food monopolies grabbed off huge profits last year....

"Removal of price supports will aggravate the economic downturn. The President's action is, thus, of concern not only to farmers but to labor."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 6, 1958, p. 2.

"...as the economic downturn continues and the demand for farm products dwindles, the agricultural decline bids fair to become an acute crisis, a process which the Eisenhower Administration's efforts to cut price supports can only hasten."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 12.

"IT IS EVIDENT that Secretary of Agriculture 'Elder' Benson is far from popular. The latest farm poll found 60% opposed to his policies, 24% favoring and 14% undecided. Benson's policy would:

"Slowly bring farm supports to an end.

"Retire as much land as possible from active production.

"To these two points may be added two sponsored by the Committee for Economic Development which is considered to have Secretary Benson's approval:

"Get 'inefficient' (which means smaller sized) farmers to leave the land for other occupations.

"End all marketing controls."

The Worker,
March 16, 1958, p. 7.

"We sharply oppose the Big Business program of callously scrapping millions of farmers..."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 15.

4. Farmer-Labor Unity

"By far the best, and the main current in the defense struggles of the family farmers has been and must be one which recognizes and promotes their fraternal interests with the industrial workers--the principle expressed as farm-labor unity, a unity in resistance to monopoly capitalism which we may confidently expect to reach logical fulfillment in unity for achievement of a socialist economy."

John Hellman, "U.S. Farmers: Problems and Proposals," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 17.

"...a successful popular movement against monopoly must stand upon a farmer-labor alliance as well as a Negro-labor alliance..."

"...it is an indisputable fact that the farm co-op movement will serve farmers' interests only under the protective umbrella of a massive anti-monopoly struggle that can place restraints upon the--as yet--virtually unrestricted power and growing domination of agriculture that monopoly exercises."

"The Communists and the Left have much to contribute both to the development of a militant farm movement and especially toward strengthening the coalition of the non-monopoly farmers with labor and the Negro people...."

Carl Ross, "The National Farmers' Union," Political Affairs, January, 1958, pp. 7, 12.

"...under the pressure of the farm crisis and under the guns of monopoly only a militant and anti-monopoly movement will satisfy these Great Plains farmers."

The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 3.

V. COLONIALISM

1. The United States supports colonialism.
2. United States corporations are building a world empire based on imperialism.
3. The socialist countries are opposed to imperialism.
4. American imperialism supports Latin-American dictators.
5. Batista's dictatorship in Cuba depends upon United States assistance.
6. "Yankee imperialism" is an important factor in Guatemalan affairs.
7. American imperialism has violated every mandate of the United Nations in its relations with Peru.
8. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is actually a colony of the United States.
9. "Rockefeller imperialism" has dominated Venezuelan dictatorships ever since the Standard Oil Company got its first oil concession in Venezuela.
10. American monopolists have been taking possession of the natural resources of the West Indies.
11. Oil, not the threat of communism, determines United States policy in the Middle East.
12. Israel has become identified with Western colonialism.
13. Imperialist intervention in Indonesian affairs could set off World War III.
14. United States capital and governmental policy are the chief obstacles to Africa's liberation.
15. The United States supports the French "colonialist" war in North Africa.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. United States Supports Colonialism

"Complementing and supplementing the American government's dedication to the destruction of the socialist Soviet Union, is its support to colonialism. This support derives in part from the relationship of colonialism to the strength of its allies--Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Belgium; but it is ambivalent, largely because of the simultaneous desire to strip those allies of much of the loot they obtain from their colonies...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 49.

"HERE IS THE IMAGE of the Dulles policy toward colonial and semi-colonial countries:

"In North Africa: support of French colonialism against the liberation struggles of the predominantly Arab peoples.

"In Indonesia: support of reactionary rebels against a legitimate, democratic government.

"In Cuba: support of an illegitimate brutal dictatorship against the opposition of the majority of the people.

"Is it any wonder that 'so much of humanity (is) alienated from us, distrustful of us, uninspired by us?'

"But of course the Eisenhower Administration isn't 'us.' It represents only a handful of billionaire buccaneers.

"The way to restore our country's good name and make it a constructive force that can win friends everywhere is to change this shameful policy. The trade unions and other people's organizations need to help fashion that change. All over the world the signs are up: DULLESISM MUST GO."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 5.

2. Profits from Imperialism

"Another truth is that the peoples of the world have real needs and interests that they must struggle for in order to survive. The United States corporations are now engaged in building a world empire where they can harvest the super-profits of imperialism. At every spot where they operate, human tragedy is bound to attend, civil wars, dictatorships, eventually world war."

The Worker,
June 1, 1958, p. 8.

3. Socialism Opposes Imperialism

"One of the outstanding characteristics of monopoly capitalism, and therewith one of its fundamental weaknesses, is its imperialist nature. The big monopolies, which dominate capitalism, undertake to rule the world and control all social life generally, in order to rob and exploit the peoples of weaker countries. The inevitable results are wars and national oppression of all kinds. One of the great strengths of the Socialist countries, on the other hand, is that they are opposed to imperialism and all its works."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 27.

4. Latin America

"The peoples of Latin America are blowing the whistle not only on homegrown dictatorship but on the foreign colonialism that nurtures it.

"This is the underlying meaning of the stormy events in Venezuela, Cuba, Guatemala and the Bahamas. This was the underlying meaning of the revolts last year that swept through Haiti and Colombia."

The Worker,
February 2, 1958, p. 2.

"The great popular struggles now developing in Venezuela, Cuba, Chile, the Argentine Republic and many other Latin American countries are aimed principally at American imperialism and its dollar supported dictators."

The Worker,
February 9, 1958, p. 10.

5. Cuba

"GEN. FULGENCIO Batista and his Washington sponsors would like the world to believe that in Cuba it's all over but the shooting. Batista's troops and gunmen will tend to the shooting. And then there will be a nice, quiet 'free world' election on Nov. 3, a well managed 'victory' for Batista's-- and Washington's -- man, after which the dictator will retire modestly to run the country behind the scenes instead of onstage."

"Ever since Cuba wrested its independence from Spain in 1898, it has been so dominated economically, politically and militarily by the United States that playing ball with the norteamericanos has become a tradition among the country's capitalist and middle classes and their political parties."

"THE CUBAN Communists and their Popular Socialist Party have, from their first statement on March 13, 1952, three days after Batista seized power, emphasized two points as indispensable for victory: unity of all opposition forces and the organization of mass struggle.

"Cuba's Marxists have combatted all tendencies to collaborate with the U.S. Embassy and all deals behind the backs of the people...."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 6.

"American arms -- planes, machine-guns, tanks -- uphold the Batista regime. And one may well imagine that the pincers and hot irons which the sadistic police wield were 'made in Pittsburgh.' "

"The people of Cuba are doubtless asking if their blood is less precious than the dividends of Wall Street's sugar corporations which are a dominating influence in their land."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 23, 1958, p. 2.

"The Communists urged all Cubans, regardless of party, whether they were Roman Catholics or not, to stand together at this decisive moment in Cuba's life. For disunity is the besetting weakness of the country's valiant resistance to native despots, and to Wall Street imperialism. And as Castro sources have declared, Batista could not reign a day without U.S. assistance. With unity, they feel, the cause of Cuban freedom could triumph despite the strafing of jet-planes made in USA that are flown by U.S. -trained pilots."

The Worker,
April 13, 1958, p. 14.

6. Guatemala

"THE RECENT STORMY EVENTS in Guatemala, with farce elections and Presidents and military juntas following each other, reveal the instability of the regime which the U. S. State Department and the United Fruit Company imposed by violence in June-July 1954."

"The Guatemalan people have succeeded in ridding themselves of one of the most despotic and pro-imperialist Governments that has ever afflicted our country; that of Castillo Armas and his accomplices. That made-in-Washington regime used arms and money from the U.S. to murder many and imprison thousands, to abolish democratic liberties, rob the peasants of the land they had received under the Arbenz reform, liquidate the gains of the workers, deliver the wealth and natural resources of Guatemala to American monopolies, and engulf the country in misery and economic ruin.

"The people of Guatemala also defeated the Yankee imperialist plans to impose a military junta in order to continue the despotic regime...."

Jose Martinez, "Behind the Guatemalan Elections," Political Affairs, February, 1958, pp. 45, 46-47.

7. Peru

"The Worker is that American voice which must assure the peoples of Peru and of Latin America who rebuffed Richard Nixon that there are Americans who neither traffic with or have respect for Nixon, his associates or those whom these gentlemen represent.

"Nixon wanted to 'explain' things to the people of Peru. They would have none of his lies. American imperialism has violated every

mandate of the United Nations in its relations with Peru and other Western Hemisphere governments. Life has taught the Peruvians that the Nixons are the 'masters of deceit.' The Worker will expose Nixon's explanations and the lies of the metropolitan press which now will seek to make a hero out of this liar, economic buccaneer and ruthless colonialist."

The Worker,
May 18, 1958, p. 15.

8. Puerto Rico

"PUERTO RICO or, as it is called today, the 'Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,' is not an independent country.

"Not all the legalistic juggling in the U.S. Congress or its counterpart in Puerto Rico, can hide the fact that Puerto Rico is still a colony of the U.S.

"That this colony is assigned the role of being a showcase for other colonial and semi-colonial countries cannot obscure the fact that Puerto Rico is still a colony though it presents a seemingly prosperous look for the moment."

"Let us not be blinded by a Puerto Rican economy based on a tax-free chance for U.S. industrialists to convert Puerto Rico into a sweatshop, air-conditioned though it be, of low wages and colonial exploitation."

The Worker,
April 6, 1958, p. 10.

"We call for the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico and the establishment of Good Neighbor relations with the Latin American nations and other countries."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

9. Venezuela

"In Venezuela the great people's struggle which on Jan. 23 dumped the nine-year military dictatorship of Gen. Marcos Perez Jimenez is by no means over. Relations with the U.S. and the foreign oil companies promise to be a key issue. Most of these companies are American, with the Rockefellers' Standard Oil of New Jersey on top.

"Washington and the oil trusts helped put and keep Perez Jimenez in power. The \$3 billion U.S. investment in Venezuela -- chiefly in oil -- is the largest in any underdeveloped country...."

The Worker,
February 2, 1958, p. 2.

"THE VENEZUELAN revolution is a shock to Wall Street. The Rockefellers, Mellons and Morgan bankers thought they owned Venezuela as fully as they owned Texas. And Wall Street writers have often boasted of America's control of this big Caribbean land and its fabulous riches..."

"Yes, Venezuela was a paradise for the billionaires to wallow in. Oil, iron ore and land were bringing fantastic profits. Trade unionists and Communists were hunted, jailed, exiled and butchered...."

"The Venezuela oil fields are the Rockefellers' biggest single source of profits today. Nearly half the fantastic take of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey--running to seven and eight hundred million dollars a year--comes from Venezuela."

"...THE ROCKEFELLERS' Standard Oil -- with more than two million acres in its fist -- has the biggest forests of derricks in the Lake Maracaibo region. The Rockefellers are also powerful figures in Venezuelan

banking, farming, fishing, dairying and hotels as well. And they have dominated all the Venezuelan dictatorships since they got their first oil concessions.

"The Morgan bankers are exploiting the Venezuelan workers too. Their United States Steel Corp. is shipping seven and eight million tons of iron ore every year from its mines at Cerro Bolivar, near the Orinoco River.

"Bethlehem Steel (in which the Mellons have a stake) is also taking out several million tons of Venezuelan ore every year.

"THE OUSTING of Dictator Perez Jiminez, of course, is only a beginning. And the ousting of his successors and the building of a democratic regime will not finish the job. The struggle will go on until the Venezuelan people control their own economic life, and the corrupting influence of Rockefeller imperialism is set aside.

"That time may not be many years off...."

The Worker,
February 9, 1958, p. 2.

10. West Indies

"THE ELECTION on March 25th of the first Federal Assembly in the West Indies marks a new political stage in the history of the Caribbean.

"This period will also witness the advancing role of American capital investment in the forthcoming West Indian Federation. Increasing United States economic penetration is not, of course, unrelated to the struggle of the West Indian people for full political and economic independence.

"... While the outward political responsibility remains with Britain, increasingly Washington controls the economic basis of the Federation."

"The growth of American economic and political influence in the West Indies was facilitated by the establishment in 1942 of an Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, renamed the Caribbean Commission in 1946. Presumably its function was 'to advise and consult' the governments concerned on matters pertaining to 'labor, agriculture, health, education, social welfare, finance, economics, etc.' But with the help of this Commission, American monopolists have been seizing possession of the natural resources of the West Indies...."

"The danger of the new West Indies Federation falling into the pit of U.S. imperialist domination cannot be sounded too often...."

"What unites the all-class* struggle of the West Indian peoples is opposition to foreign imperialism...."

Claudia Jones, "American Imperialism and the British West Indies," Political Affairs, April, 1958, pp. 9, 10, 11, 16.

11. Middle East

"This gigantic Rockefeller empire would be helpless without the State Department and the U.S. mailed fist. This was shown in Iran in 1953, when Dulles and his brother organized a military plot to overthrow the Mossadegh Government, that nationalized the oil fields.

"This was shown again in the oil-rich Middle East last year. Here Dulles and Eisenhower brought the Sixth Fleet after the nationalization of Suez. This was done under the cover of the double-talking Eisenhower Doctrine, that pretends to be saving the Middle East from 'Communism.' What

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

they are actually doing is reinforcing the reactionary Arab kings (Feisal of Iraq, Hussein of Jordan, and Saud of Saudi Arabia) against the Arab liberation movement.

"For that Arab liberation movement seems destined to claim the fabulous oil reserves for the people before long."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, pp. 7, 11.

"...President Eisenhower isn't thinking of 'democracy' when he sends his cruisers to Lebanon in the Middle East. He is thinking of the oil below the Arab sands, of the profits of the Rockefeller and Mellon families that put him into the White House."

The Worker,
May 25, 1958, p. 2.

12. Israel

"Israel, tragically, has become identified with Western colonialism in the eyes of the Arab world and elsewhere. The Arab millions see that its position in the United Nations is overwhelming that of the U.S. State Department...."

"Its future rests in breaking with cold-war policies. Improved political and trade relations with the socialist countries, as well as with the colonial and semi-colonial world, will enormously strengthen Israel's cause, contribute to the prosperity of its inhabitants and their good relations with all Arab nations."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 2.

13. Indonesia

"Today the two Dulles brothers are maneuvering in Indonesia with rebel separatist leaders, who want to split the progressive island republic in the interest of the foreign oil and rubber companies, and the imperialists' military plans."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 11.

"DULLES learns nothing from history, however. And he despises exploited colored people. So he hails the oil companies 'rebels' in Sumatra as fighters against 'Communism.' "

"The common folks of America have a stake in this Indonesian struggle. For the common people want peace. And the present Indonesian Government, which Dulles want to overthrow, is a Government of Peace."

The Worker,
March 23, 1958, p. 7.

"The Dulles machinations are heightening tensions in the Far East and could trigger World War III. . . ."

The Worker,
March 23, 1958, p. 14

14. Africa

"...the U.S. government is today the main foe of African self-determination, and...the rich families of the United States and the great

corporations they own and control rank with the worst exploiters of African labor and resources."

"...we Americans have a major responsibility for what has happened in Africa in the past, what is happening today and what will happen there tomorrow; because American capital and governmental policy are now the chief obstacle to Africa's liberation."

John Pittman, "Africa and the United States," Political Affairs, February, 1958, pp. 49, 50.

15. Tunisia

"IT WAS MURDER in Tunisia -- premeditated murder...."

"And this time the guilt and the shame besmirch our own country. The Eisenhower Administration provided most of the planes that murdered 78 defenseless men, women and children in the Tunisian village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef. This is the grisly reality of the NATO alliance.

"And the ink is hardly dry on the agreement by which the Administration is giving the French government a \$655,000,000 loan to enable it to continue perpetrating more bestialities against Tunisia and against the Algerian people on whom it has been waging war for more than three years."

"President Eisenhower should be flooded with demands that:

"Our United Nations delegation give complete, unequivocal support in the Security Council to the Tunisian complaint;

"All military and economic aid to France be ended so long as it continues the colonialist war in North Africa;

"The \$655,000,000 loan be immediately canceled."

Editorial, The Worker, February 16, 1958, p. 2.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The second session of the 85th Congress has delayed enactment of needed legislation to provide jobs and additional unemployment benefits.
2. Congressional investigating committees should be abolished.
3. The Smith Act and the Internal Security Act should be repealed and the "McCarthyite" loyalty program should be abolished.
4. The "informer system" must be abolished.
5. The Administration has adopted a "do-nothing" policy on the issue of civil rights.
6. A constant struggle must be waged against McCarthyism.
7. Amnesty should be granted immediately to those leaders of the Communist Party, USA, who are serving sentences for violation of the Smith Act.
8. The Walter-McCarran Act should be repealed.
9. The denial of passports on political grounds should be prohibited.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The 85th Congress

"... Steps must be taken to ease credit for farmers, small businessmen, home buyers and working people generally. For those who have suffered loss of jobs and income, federal legislation is needed to provide refinancing of mortgage and other debt on long terms and at low interest rates, with a moratorium on debt payments during periods of unemployment."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 24.

"The White House, feeding the country 'buy now' ballyhoo, is holding off tax cuts or other anti-depression measures and it is now indicated that nothing is planned until June or July...."

"... as the fourth month since Congress opened is rounded out, there is still not a single piece of enacted legislation that has the value of a job or more in unemployment benefits."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 11.

2. Congressional Investigating Committees

"... Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"THE HISTORIC SUPREME Court decision of June, 1957, for instance, which dealt a great blow to 'investigating committees' (and especially the notorious 'House Committee on Un-American Activities'), is now up before that Court for re-affirmation.

"Three times since last June, the U. S. Court of Appeals has tried to sap that decision of its meaning, which would in effect take away from the 'committees' their single most powerful weapon -- the authority to bring contempt proceedings against any 'witness' refusing to answer their questions. A new ruling by the Court will clinch its first decision, and help put all such 'investigations' out of business...."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, p. 6.

3. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"...End thought-control legislation and decrees....Repeal the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act and abolish the McCarthyite Loyalty Program...."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

4. Confidential Informants

"...the whole system of repressive laws--the Taft-Hartley, the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Walter-McCarran law--simply cannot be enforced without the Justice Department's rotten system of paid political informers.

"Conclusions should be drawn that go far beyond the Jencks case. Scores of trade unionists, Communist leaders and foreign born have been prosecuted under these repressive laws with built-in informer systems.

"The informer system must go; the McCarthyite laws must be wiped off the books; the fight back to the Bill of Rights must be stepped-up.

"The most dramatic step to this end would be the granting of Presidential amnesty to Smith Act prisoners Gil Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash--victims of thought-control trials where the Justice Department also 'didn't have the proof.' "

Editorial, The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 2.

5. Civil Rights

"The unknown hoodlums who last week bombed an all-Negro school and a Jewish center in Jacksonville, Florida, were undoubtedly encouraged to violence by the failure of the Eisenhower administration to take any action on civil rights, and by the passivity of Congress.

"The Civil Rights Commission which was set up last fall, under the Civil Rights Act, has done nothing about the more than 300 complaints it has received, it was disclosed last week."

"THE INACTION in the Administration-appointed commission is matched by the record of the House of Representatives...."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 16.

"MINNIJEAN BROWN, one of nine Negro students, was expelled from Central High School in Little Rock on charges that she replied to intolerable provocation.

"Climaxing a series of historic events around the segregation fight in Little Rock the shameful action should have set off a political explosion in Washington. But it did not.

"Why?

"Because there is, in effect, a bi-partisan conspiracy of the high commands of both major parties to bury the issue of civil rights at this session of Congress.

"Attorney General William Rogers, speaking for the Republican Administration, has announced a go-slow policy--which, in effect, is a do-nothing policy....

"Nor does the newly-appointed Civil Rights Commission indicate any program of struggle to defend even those legal rights supported by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"Leaders of the Democratic majority in the Senate and House, Messrs. Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn, are following essentially the same policy....

"These policies by the leaders of the so-called free world are, in effect, support of the activity of the racists--and will be so judged not only by many Americans, Negro and white, but by the whole world."

"...A great new mass revival of the civil rights struggle is needed outside of the Congress. In such a struggle organized labor, in its own interest as well as that of the nation, should take a leading part. Labor will thus strengthen its alliance with the Negro people and other democratic forces.

"In this struggle the socialist-minded forces of America--the Communist Party and others--can and must make their own contribution."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 2.

"...Restore guarantees of the Bill of Rights for all citizens and foreign born...."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

6. McCarthyism

"JOE McCARTHY has been buried a year. But the disease of McCarthyism is far from dead...."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 30, 1958, p. 2.

"THE LATE SENATOR McCarthy may be moldering in his grave but McCarthyism, unfortunately, lingers on.

"While the trend is back to the Bill of Rights, as evidenced by numerous court decisions and public expressions, there is still enough McCarthyism around to make necessary continued alertness--and struggle.

"New proof is the conviction last weekend of Junius Scales on the charge of membership in the Communist Party. Scales, who, incidentally, is no longer a Communist Party member, was convicted by a Federal Court under the so-called membership clause of the widely discredited Smith Act."

"ANOTHER EVIDENCE of McCarthyism in practice is the recent conviction of seven persons in Cleveland on the tissue-thin charge of 'conspiring' to violate the Taft-Hartley anti-communist provision.

"This sinister proceeding foreshadows similar efforts by the Justice Department to frame-up scores of trade unionists and their supporters throughout the nation. It represents not only a general threat to the people's liberties; it is a specific threat to organized labor."

"These convictions can be reversed, as have been scores of others. But it will take unity and struggle without any illusions that victory will come, automatically or simply because Joe McCarthy is no longer among the living."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 2, 1958, p. 2.

"In the last ten years our Party has borne the brunt of the fight for the Bill of Rights against all forms of McCarthyism...."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 8.

7. Amnesty for Imprisoned Party Leaders

"The decision of the United States Supreme Court, affirming by a 5 to 4 decision to* convictions and three years sentences of Henry Winston and Gilbert Green on contempt charges, is a source of shock and indignation to all progressive forces, who had hopefully viewed their appeal in the context of recent victories against the infamous thought control Smith Act, under which they were originally sentenced."

"The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., vigorously protests this decision and calls for full steam ahead in the Amnesty Campaign, directed to President Eisenhower on behalf of the imprisoned Smith Act victims."

"Let us join together to end all political persecution and to secure the unconditional immediate release of our imprisoned comrades."

The Worker,
April 6, 1958, p. 16.

*This probably should read "the!"

"We shall increase our activity in defense of the Bill of Rights, including in behalf of our own legal and democratic rights, firm in our belief that the defense of our constitutional liberties and the granting of amnesty to Winston, Green, Potash and Thompson and to all other political prisoners is not a special privilege nor a partisan right, but is necessary to protect and expand the civil liberties of all Americans."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 2, p. 5.

8. Immigration and Naturalization

"...Repeal the Walter-McCarran Act and enact an immigration and naturalization law that provides for a liberal immigration policy not based on national origin, eliminates all political tests for admission, residence and naturalization, and bars deportation after ten years of legal residence...."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

9. Passports

"...Prohibit the denial of passports on political grounds...."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

VII. ARMED FORCES

1. It is the policy of the present Administration to raise military expenditures at the expense of domestic needs.
2. The hiring of military men to fill executive posts in war industries increases the danger that this country will be plunged into an atomic war.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Military Budget

"... Arms expenditures should be drastically reduced, and the money spent instead for purposes benefitting the American people. Idle arms factories should be converted to peacetime production, and provisions made to provide retraining, relocation, severance pay and other benefits for workers displaced by these changes."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 25.

"Unfortunately, most of our spokesmen for labor are still following the view that big military budgets are the basis for the boom. This is one of the major reasons for their support of a sabre-rattling and 'brink-of-war' foreign policy."

"... The figures may look convincing and the argument may sound 'logical,' but these economists overlook the realities: that those today in a position to decide in the government and Congress, raise military expenditures at the EXPENSE of the domestic needs.

"The argument of labor leaders for military expenditures only helps to lend justification to the program of chiseling into welfare needs, foregoing tax cuts and paring down wage demands, to increase the military budget. As for labor's larger objective of a vast anti-depression program of projects to fill long-postponed needs in education, housing, welfare, health, etc., they surely become unrealistic if accompanied by a demand for a higher military budget.

"The program for both more guns and more butter is also refuted by world conditions. Even many Americans who have long been ardent cold-war backers, are coming around to the view that there can be no end result but war in the continued arms race; that the point has been reached where both east and west must turn to negotiating an agreement under which the race could end and much of the world's productive power could be shifted to combatting poverty that still dominates most of the world...."

The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 4.

".., the President made no bones of his view that when it comes to military expenditures against steps to relieve the plight of the hungry, he placed the needs of war first...."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 3.

"The projected increases in armaments will undoubtedly stimulate capital investment in missile production and related areas. And they will undoubtedly provide additional jobs. Hence they enjoy the support of many working people.

"But arms budgets offer no real answer. In return for such benefits as they may confer, they exact a severe price. The arms must be paid for, in added inflation, in high taxes, and in the sacrifices of social welfare. Even more serious, they carry the threat of new assaults on democratic liberties,

and above all the increased menace of atomic war. Nor does such spending provide added jobs which would not be provided by spending the same sums for socially useful purposes...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Situation Today," Political Affairs, March, 1958, p. 19.

2. Hiring of Military Men by War Industries

"THE TIES between the Brass Hats and the Brink-of-War profiteers grow closer day by day...."

"...They hold down big jobs in other plane and missile concerns. And they are not only hired for their engineering and executive talents, but for their ties with the Pentagon as well. For they are still part of the Brink-of-War apparatus, while in civvies. And the danger that America will be plunged into atomic war is greater than ever when military men are in Wall Street's executive posts."

The Worker,
January 5, 1958, p. 5.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The issue of equal rights for Negroes is "the foremost democratic cause of all America."
2. The issue of Negro rights is a political football in this country.
3. Governmental policy based on racism must be changed.
4. The United States is a "classic example of a white supremacist society," and reforms in the area of Negro rights must be "wrung" from the ruling class by means of mass struggle.
5. The goal is complete integration and equal rights for Negroes and all other minorities.
6. The Communist Party, USA, "must concentrate on helping to develop actual Negro-white unity, so vital to the battle for peace, and democracy--and Negro rights."
7. The ultimate solution to the problem of anti-Semitism is the ending of class society.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Equal Rights for Negroes

"Equality of citizenship rights without discrimination in political affairs, economic opportunity, cultural life and social status remain rights deferred for the vast majority of Negro Americans. They remain still the golden dream of their heart's desire and the urgent objectives of their evermore united and militant freedom struggle."

"The message to all Americans this Negro History Week, 1958, is to swell the active struggle to secure to the Negro people equality of rights in all aspects of the political, economic and cultural life of the nation; to swell it to a crusade that will level all the barriers of Jim Crow racism, segregation and discrimination, that will result in the enactment of the necessary laws and the enforcement of the existing Constitutional privileges to secure the ballot to the Negroes of the South and the full respect for their equality and dignity everywhere in the nation, in all avenues of social endeavor."

"On this commemorative occasion of Negro History Week, Communists everywhere, renew their appreciation of the glorious chapters of American history which have been inscribed by the valiant struggles of the Negro people's freedom struggle and in the deeds of her foremost sons and daughters.

"We appraise the struggle of the Negro people for their equal rights today as the first cause of all Americans concerned with the social advancement of our nation. We pledge our renewed dedication to service in the cause of the Negro people's struggle for equality, the foremost democratic cause of all America."

The Worker,
February 9, 1958, pp. 3, 11.

2. Negro Rights and Politics

"The issue of Negro rights has long been the major political football in this country. The game is played on state and national levels. The teams are the Republican and Democratic parties, and the tempo of the play is determined by the height of the struggle for Negro rights at a given moment.

"Neither side is animated by principle. The ninety-year-old failure of successive governments to end the subversion of the Constitution by racists is proof. No love of constitutional government or respect for human dignity; no great concern for the moral and political prestige of this country abroad; no concern for the status of constitutional liberties and rights at home, motivate either team. The stakes are the Negro vote, and have been for more than seventy-five years."

William L. Patterson, "The Battle for Civil Rights Today," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 1.

"The present mood and the future destiny of the Negro people call for independent political action; and those Negro leaders who prefer collaboration with the rich, the powerful and the corrupt political machines over the well-nigh-unanimous mandate of their own oppressed and fed-up people are doing a grave disservice to the struggle for the dignity and rights of the Negro."

The Worker,
June 1, 1958, p. 16.

3. Racism as Governmental Policy

"... The employment of a few Negroes by the government cannot hide a policy of racist terror.

"The struggle of Negro liberation moves too slowly. The figures of legal execution expose a relentless government that will not change and must be changed.

"It is necessary to soberly assess the situation. He who argues that a gradual change will come through judicial decree must realize that a policy of government based on racism does not change that way...."

The Worker,
April 13, 1958, p. 9.

"...America's progressive face their greatest crisis of racism. The racist policy is a policy varying only in degree, of every city, state government and the federal government.

"But the governments will resolve the crisis of jim-crow, segregation and moral depravity at the expense of the Negro people and labor if left to their own devices...."

The Worker,
May 18, 1958, p. 15.

"The struggle for conditions guaranteeing permanent peace will not wait. The battle against racist dehumanization and inequalities is being waged on a world wide scale, and the struggle for Negro rights is an integral part of it. The racist policies of this country are ammunition for the most reactionary leaders of Europe, Asia and Africa."

The Worker,
February 2, 1958, p. 3.

"The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in the UN had constantly referred to the racial prejudices of the rulers of America, much to the embarrassment of their representatives in the General Assembly. American racism was becoming anathema throughout the world. Its continued existence bade fair to have dangerous effects upon the trade relations of American monopoly with Egypt, the Arabian countries, and other eastern lands."

William L. Patterson, "The Battle for Civil Rights Today," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 6.

4. Mass Struggle for Negro Rights

"Moreover, one must bear in mind that concessions or reforms won in a class-exploitative society are wrung* from the ruling class; this is particularly true in the area of Negro rights in the United States, classic example of a white supremacist society. The concessions are won in mass struggle against the desire of the dominant components within the ruling class. How meaningful they will be, how quickly and how fully implemented, and how permanent, basically depends upon how persistent and organized is the pressure from the mass which extracted the concession or reform in the first place. This does not mean that the gaining of the reform was not assisted by splits and differences among those on top--and in the area of Negro rights there are significant splits of this kind, originating in international pressures and considerations, and in differing compulsions of a domestic nature, both political and economic. But it does mean that advances in popular rights fundamentally derive in spite* of ruling class opposition, and because* of popular struggle. This is especially true when one deals with the oppression of the Negro people..."

"Today, advice of moderation, in the face of continued segregation and a mounting offensive of reaction is especially monstrous because never has there been so good an opportunity as in our day to really smash jim crow. The Negro people are aroused as never before...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, February, 1958,
pp. 11-12, 18.

"The freedom struggle of the Negro people in the United States has reached a historic level. The highest point was reached in the Supreme Court decisions against segregation. But forces of reaction are fighting not only to wipe this concession off the books but to set back civil rights progress for a long time to come...."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 11.

* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

"This is the way the battle lines shape up at the end of 1957 on the legal front of the southern desegregation battle. The apparent targets were the U. S. Supreme Court and the NAACP; the slogan was 'To Preserve States' Rights'; but the real targets were due process and law and order.

"In a sense, the NAACP is bearing the brunt of this fight because it, and not the office of the U. S. Attorney General, has been the outstanding defender of the U. S. Constitution as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court."

The Worker,
January 12, 1958, p. 9.

"This means that any approach to the question of the struggle for Negro rights which limits itself to the good-will of the rich, or the enlightenment of segments of the ruling class is doomed to failure, and in fact helps to continue the oppression..."

"Flowing from this comprehension, and understanding that concessions are wrong* from the bourgeoisie, not given* by them, one must see that, society never being static, the ruling class will always try and always has tried, first, to minimize the concession, second to hedge it about with delaying devices, third, to take back the concession and, finally, if possible, to turn their battle against the implementing of the concession into one that eventuates not only in cancelling it, but in pushing back the forces that extracted the concession to begin with."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, February, 1958,
p. 12.

5. Integration and Equal Rights

"From coast to coast and border to border we shall work to speed realization of complete integration and equal rights in education, housing,

*Underlined word is italicized in the original text.

employment and public life everywhere in America, and we propose a great all-inclusive, nationwide crusade to democratize the South."

The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 2, p. 5.

"If the Negro people are to be free, the struggle must be deepened and sharpened. A Five-Year Plan for the total elimination of Jim Crow and segregation in the United States can and must be formulated. Such a plan could be a unifier of all humane, justice-loving, democratic-minded people. A master Five-Year Plan with calendar fixed goals for the enjoyment of the civil rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution would mobilize tens of thousands of Americans. It would immeasurably strengthen the struggle for national morality and integrity. It would reach into every household, and city council, every State assembly, every institution of government in the United States. Without capitulation to a 'gradualist' position, it would give recognition to the need for time to develop the struggle.

"The struggle could be directed toward the removal of all segregation measures from all statute books and the ending by law of the evil practices that reflect and make for the perpetuation of racial and religious bias and bigotry in counties, cities, states and nation."

William L. Patterson, "The Battle for Civil Rights Today," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 9.

6. Negro-White Unity

"Specifically, today, in terms of the Negro movement, our job is to see the class roots of Negro oppression, the relationship between the whole world-wide struggle against imperialism and the Negro liberation movement, the necessity for Negro-white unity and particularly a Negro-

white labor alliance. Our job now is to help develop the widest possible unity--among the Negro people, among Negro and white people, and between the organized labor movement and the Negro freedom effort."

"...The Party as a whole must concentrate on helping to develop actual Negro-white unity, so vital to the battle for peace, and democracy--and Negro rights."

Pettis Perry, "The Party and the Negro People," Political Affairs, February, 1958, pp. 23-24, 25.

"The danger to all Americans, regardless of color, grows as the White Citizens Councils and their backers conspire to a greater attack on the Negro populace. While the crisis deepens they plan to divide the Negro from the white worker in the trade-unions, to pit one against another in the vital need for jobs. And to undo whatever gain resulted from the Supreme Court desegregation decision, here as well as in the South."

"Clearly, the time calls for a resurgent and mightier counter-attack upon those who would fling back the advance of the Negroes in America since the New Deal Days."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 27, 1958, Section 1, p. 2.

7. Anti-Semitism

"THE MARXIST view has always been that the ultimate solution to the problem of anti-Semitism -- a product of class society -- is the ending of class society, which is a barrier to the fullest development of democracy, and to the nationality or class."

The Worker,
March 30, 1958, p. 6.

IX. EDUCATION

1. The public educational system in the United States is basically faulty.
2. "Education for all" must be the guiding principle in our public schools.
3. Federal aid to education should be increased.
4. Big business dominates education and is responsible for the educational crisis in our country.
5. Racial, religious, and economic discrimination exists in American education.
6. "Fascist-like" loyalty requirements discourage prospective teachers.
7. The Soviet Union excels the United States in the field of education.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Faulty Educational System

"The whole public educational system rests today on foundations that are shaky and questionable at best, and at worst false and destructive. But on those foundations have been erected a structure that has begun to crack, visibly and dangerously, in several places. Delinquency; semi-illiteracy in the 'three R's'; scientific and cultural backwardness; and the huge toll of discrimination and segregation -- these are the ways in which the basically faulty educational system has thrust itself upon the attention of the whole nation and the world...."

The Worker,
April 20, 1958, p. 11.

"Now those responsible for the educational debacle in our country will seek to make Deweyism the scapegoat; will seek to preserve its most reactionary qualities; and will attempt to return to the worst features of 19th century education--elitism, rote, brutal discipline; and a general effort to crush the freshness and beauty, the honesty and courage so natural to youth."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 25.

2. Education for All

"TWO SERIOUS problems of public education are now engaging wide public attention. One is the problem of delinquency, especially as it has been appearing among so-called 'substandard' pupils; the other is the problem of wasted talents, with emphasis on the so-called 'gifted' pupils. Each is a problem of long standing, as everyone knows who has ever had anything to do with our public schools; and both therefore warrant the widest attention they can get, and the boldest action.

"There is a serious danger, nevertheless, that in this new concern with two 'special' questions, the general crisis in public education, and its roots, will not only continue to be neglected, but may be pushed even farther into the background. If that happens, we may be certain now that even the boldest of 'special measures' will be doomed from the start, while the deeprooted sources for every general and specific question in education today continue to flourish unhampered."

"... 'There is a group of uneducable youngsters,' one unidentified teacher is quoted in the New York Times as saying, 'who hate school or are in constant trouble, and yet must remain.... For them school is a place of detention or a prison.' And this same teacher expands the full implications of that terrible phrase 'uneducable' by going on to attack 'the great American myth that every kid no matter what his age or ability, must remain in school.'

"Here is an open, explicit, unashamed expression of a basic belief--the belief that 'education for all' (that old Jeffersonian dream!) is nothing after all but a 'myth'; the belief that some 'group' of our children (how many of what social class or national origin?) cannot in fact be educated at all!"

"That is why no real advance will be made anywhere in the school system--either on special problems, or on the schools as a whole--until this approach is smoked out, and 'education for all' once again made a guiding principle in our public schools."

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 6.

3. Federal Aid to Education

"...President Eisenhower sets the pace. In his 'state of the union message' and in his proposed budget he smoothly and piously proposes a greatly increased war budget in time of peace, and at the same time proposes cutbacks in funds for education and social welfare: for example, a \$3,000,000 cut in the Children's Bureau program to combat delinquency, a \$1,600,000 cut in funds for training teachers of mentally retarded children, etc. He was silent on a proposal he himself made, with great acclaim, a short time ago for a four-year Federal school building program to cost \$420,000,000 a year.

"THE OFFICE of Education at Washington has just issued a report on school construction throughout the country. It says the country is now short 140,000 classrooms...."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 6.

"The voice of all people who are doing the honest and necessary work of the world and who bear all costs must be raised against the war mongers who are demanding retrenchment in education. What a prospect these war profiteers offer the children of the nation! A denial of educational facilities that we could easily afford, and at the same time, a blight on their future more horrible than all past wars combined into one world-wide slaughter!"

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 11.

"Appropriate five billion dollars annually for school construction, increase of teachers' salaries and scholarships and financial aid for students, to be made available without discrimination and on the basis of full compliance with the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

4. Big Business Dominates Education

"The major need in attacking the educational crisis in our country, is to understand that responsibility for it lies squarely on the shoulders of Big Business which has dominated education. Having created the crisis out of its deep fear of real education for the masses, out of its contempt for culture and its deification of the Dollar, it is striving to turn the crisis to its own advantage. What Big Business wants is, above everything, to keep the masses of the people from seeing the source of perversion in this domination, to keep the masses from comprehending that it is for them to intercede directly and urgently and to see to it that their own children get the fullest benefits from the educational system, whose every brick and piece of chalk is paid for by the labor of the people themselves."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 23.

"In the last session of Congress there was a bill to provide Federal aid to the states in their educational programs. The United States Chamber of Commerce, representing the top business interests of the country, waged a vigorous, prolonged and nation-wide campaign against it. The bill never even came to a vote.

"It is the coalition of these business interests and the Dixiecrats of the South together with the Catholic Church, which has been blocking Federal aid for the schools for decades. Meanwhile the States have not been building classrooms as fast as the children have been born."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 6.

"...the American school system is in the hands of a powerful and self-perpetuating lobby of vested interests--the National Education Association."

Norbert Wiener, "The Education of Scientists," Mainstream, May, 1958, p. 16.

5. Discrimination

"An outstanding reflection of moral failure and social decay is the universally admitted crisis in American education. Addressing the bourgeoisie, eleven decades ago, Marx and Engels wrote: 'And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate...?' 'The Communists,' wrote those two young revolutionists, 'seek to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.'

"That education in our country needs rescuing is now everywhere affirmed. The crisis in education is total; no area has escaped....

"There exist the sharpest discriminations in American education, most notorious along sectional, racial, religious and--above all--economic lines...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 22.

"The ruling class seeks also to use the educational crisis as an excuse for halting any effort to integrate the school system. They say the struggle against segregation interferes with efforts to resolve the crisis; they say it is rocking the boat in the midst of a storm. They are wrong again. The existence of jimcrowism is a prime feature of and cause for the general educational crisis. Fighting against segregated education is not rocking the boat; it is helping to get some water out of a dangerously swamped ship."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 24.

"...We argue the need for reduced class-size, for remedial reading programs, for full integration..."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 8.

6. Teachers

"...in all the clamor about the shortage of teachers--of fearful proportions, most certainly--no consideration is given to the conclusive evidence that one feature which has discouraged many from becoming teachers and induced many others to leave are the fascist-like requirements relative to 'loyalty' and to '100% Americans' defined a la Eastland and

J. Edgar Hoover? And in the search for teachers, is it not extraordinary that no consideration is given to the thousands of teachers who were driven from their jobs by degenerate informers, like Howard Rushmore who belatedly ended his own miserable life after adding the crime of murder to his long record?"

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 25.

7. Education in the Soviet Union

"Another thing revealed by the Soviet Sputnik, as by a flash of lightning, was the superiority of the Soviet educational system. . . ."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 24.

"...That the basic education of the Soviet citizen is without a peer in the world is now universally admitted; that scientific research in the USSR is without a superior is a fact. . . ."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, January, 1958, p. 23.

"A total of 16 high schools anywhere in the country--8 of them private schools--are now teaching Russian, to a possible maximum of 7,500 young Americans. For every American youth now studying Russian, more than one thousand times as many Soviet youth are studying English. Whose education in truth is broad and rounded?"

The Worker,
March 30, 1958, p. 8.

"Certainly, the United States with capitalism cannot hope to apply under that system the educational theories and practices possible in the higher order of socialism....

"But we Americans can gain inspiration--no matter what our politics--from the magnificent and indisputable achievements registered in the USSR in bringing a notoriously uneducated peoples, immersed in illiteracy, out into the light, within one generation--despite catastrophic war--of universal literacy, pre-eminent scientific achievement and the most highly cultured level in the world."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, April, 1958, p. 27.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Cultural exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union are a step toward peace.
2. Labor unions must sponsor cultural activities for the workers.
3. The intellectual atmosphere in the United States is "still poisoned with the 'fall-out' set off by the explosions of witch-hunts, McCarthyism, Smith Act trials and the 'Cold War.'"
4. International scientific gatherings have become testing grounds for peace.
5. An international agency should be established within the United Nations to develop a long-range program for artificial satellites, the exploration of space, and interplanetary travel.
6. Socialism furnishes the "social soil" for the growth of genuine morality.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Cultural Exchanges

"We welcome the agreement in principle which has been reached for scientific, educational and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union and urge the full implementation of this agreement."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

"The accord between the United States and the Soviet Union for a five-fold increase in cultural, technical, education and sports exchanges between the two countries, is widely hailed as another step in the direction of peaceful relations between peoples and co-existence."

"As a result of that exchange many hundreds of visiting persons in the arts, technical fields, sports, entertainment, sciences and learning, will be met and greeted by millions of peoples in both lands. Direct contact between the two peoples will be expanded on a scale never known before.

"This accord has been reached despite the fact that efforts to bring about conferences at the summit are only in the talking stage and relations at the diplomatic level are still quite hostile. The power that is pulling the two great peoples together is becoming strong enough to even overcome diplomatic and military barriers."

The Worker,
February 9, 1958, p. 6.

"One of the most heartening phenomena on the national scene--in terms of understanding between nations, and a drawing together for peace--is the cultural interchange between us and the Russians. Music has been called the international language, it hurdles barriers of speech and affords a glimpse into the heart of peoples. It can serve as an ambassador of good will and it is doing just that in the current exchange of Soviet artists coming here and American artists going there."

"...it would be well if the international relations between nations accorded to the response shown their musicians."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 8, 1958, p. 2.

2. Culture and Labor

"History has been on the side of the snobs. For hundreds of years the middle class artist has created for the upper class patron. Who finances the symphonies, buys the Picassos, pays \$20 for a seat at the B'way musical,

owns the publishing houses and newspapers, decides (through his Banks) what movies Hollywood will make, and sponsors the Songs to Cigarettes our young children sing!"

"The Union must, and will, once again organize choruses and theatre groups and book clubs and even publish a worker-poet now and then. But, when..."

The Worker,
May 25, 1958, pp. 8, 11.

3. Intellectual Atmosphere

"THE NEW YORK CITY CENTER program of American opera, which took place for five weeks in April and early May, and was based on a study of about 200 scores, both fresh and familiar, by the general director, Julius Rudel, should have been an occasion for serious study and discussion by New York musicians and critics. For it is probably in the creation of an exciting and significant musical theatre that American composers will first establish music itself as something of consequence to the country's people.

"But so far no such serious discussion has been forthcoming. Instead of trying to throw some light on the path ahead, on the basis of the stimulating experiences offered by these 10 operas, the critics seem content to give the works various grades, from 'passing' or 'excellent' to 'failure,' like a teacher marking term papers, and let things move along in the usual pragmatic and hit-or-miss fashion.

"It could be that a contributing factor is the fact that the intellectual atmosphere is still poisoned with the 'fall-out' set off by the explosions of witch-hunts, McCarthyism, Smith Act trials and the 'Cold War.'

"IT IS ALSO A PITY that this season of American opera had to be made possible by a grant of \$105, 000 by the Ford Foundation. We have to grow up to realize that such cultural events should be supported by the people directly through their elected government, instead of what amounts to an indirect support in the form of 'taxation without representation.' "

The Worker,
May 25, 1958, p. 8.

4. International Scientific Gatherings

"No single class or nation has a monopoly to truth. One of the cardinal tenets of our faith as a mathematician is the belief in the collaboration of all men and women of good will, from whatever peoples or creeds they may hail. The boundaries of science are not those of nations, but only those of the human mind as it exists in a particular historical period, and these boundaries are highly elastic. Now, more than ever, the internationalism of science should be stressed, our creed that all countries should participate, that no secrets be kept, that full information can stream across the borders as in olden times. What needs pleading now in the middle of the 20th century was taken for granted by the scientists of the 17th century! Let us stress our points anew: the guarding of scientific truths by one group or another is not only duplication of efforts, but a stupid kind of pride. It does not promote that peaceful atmosphere in which our own knowledge--and wisdom--as well as that of others, can best grow. We believe that peace is necessary for the full unfolding of our science; we also believe conversely that all attempts to promote this full unfolding will promote better understanding between the peoples. This holds the more with the importance our present civilization gives to the exact sciences. International scientific gatherings are not only what they used to be, exchanges of information. They have become testing grounds for peace."

Dirk Struik, "A Mathematician's Faith," Mainstream, January, 1958, pp. 45-46.

5. International Space Agency

"Establish an international agency within the UN to develop and administer a long-range program for artificial satellites, the exploration of space, and interplanetary travel."

The Worker,
January 26, 1958, p. 3.

6. Socialism and Morality

"Socialism, then, is much more than nationalized industry and the free-admitted class rule of workers allied with other exploited sections of the population it is also an atmosphere in which venality and attendant vices must give way to the elevation of the human spirit; it furnishes the social soil for the growth of genuine morality."

The Worker,
January 19, 1958, p. 9.

XI. WOMEN

1. American women need socialism.
2. The Communist Party, USA, must secure the fullest participation of all Negro women.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Socialism and American Women

"... International Women's Day was born out of struggles of American working men and women and later adopted in other lands.

"... the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910, adopted March 8th as International Women's Day....

"... In the last 50 years... women have gained equal rights in the Socialist countries and have made great progress politically and in all spheres of activity--science, education, medicine, art, etc.... A new woman has been born in our century.

"Unfortunately under capitalism the same 50 year old worries still beset us here, such as unemployment, wage differentials and unequal opportunities in industry and the professions. The labor movement has not yet carried out its good resolutions for the protection of the rights of women on the job and in unions. There are few women union officials and few in government posts. There is still the high cost of living, the need for adequate housing, schools, and health facilities, to trouble women. More than ever American women are deeply alarmed at the prospect of a global war that could destroy humanity.... Every day spent... among women brings new arguments for Socialism right here in the U.S.A...."

The Worker,
March 9, 1958, p. 8.

"...Significantly, in the Soviet Union about half the scientists, doctors, and teachers are women..."

William Z. Foster, "The Superiority of World Socialism over World Capitalism," Political Affairs, May, 1958, p. 27.

2. Communist Party, USA, and Negro Women

"Within the Party itself there remain as crucial questions the fullest participation in all levels, including the highest, of our Negro comrades, especially the women among them; and intensified opposition to every manifestation of racist thinking or practice."

Pettis Perry, "The Party and the Negro People," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 22.

XII. YOUTH

1. Socialism holds the final answer to the problems of our youth.
2. Labor unions should actively participate in youth activities.
3. Youth must be taught more of the "facts of life" concerning labor and labor unions.
4. Young Negroes face "heart-breaking obstacles" in their search for jobs.
5. Juvenile delinquency is declining in the Soviet Union, where special treatment is provided for delinquents.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Youth Needs Socialism

"Less than 3 percent of our country's 25 million youngsters get into 'trouble' with 'The Law', and less than 1 percent of these are considered 'delinquent' by even an over-zealous police. But the problems which drive these young people to anti-social acts are the problems of all youth. They are problems created by the capitalist society in which they live. They are problems magnified by the Cold War Decade in which these youth grew up. A decade characterized by government-inspired campaigns of hatred for countries, social systems, cultures, and peoples different from ours, so-called 'little wars', the compulsory military draft, and uncertainty about a future which John Foster Dulles threatens daily to blow up in our faces--with 'clean' or 'dirty' bombs.

"It is true that only socialism holds the final answer to these problems of our youth. But these problems can and must be tackled today in the same way that labor has tackled, and continues to fight for, a partial solution of its immediate problems, even within the existing system. It is the responsibility of labor, and the democratic forces in our country. They are America's future."

The Worker,
June 8, 1958, p. 11.

"It is our whole system that is delinquent and not the children... No greater crime can be committed against a youth than to brand him in his adolescent period as a criminal. Every possible effort should be made to save them."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 8.

2. Labor's Responsibility to Youth

"...the trade union leaderships have a responsibility to the men and women--the working parents--who make up their organizations, to help them cope with the problems of their young people. Many forms of youth activities--not only dances--could be organized by the unions to help impart to these children some social understanding of the world around them, a feeling of pride in being part of America's organized working people, and drawing them into some aspects of union life."

"Community and neighborhood movements to develop youth activities and democratic programs should have the active participation of the trade unions whose memberships often make up the majority in these communities..."

The Worker,
June 8, 1958, p. 11.

3. Youth's Ignorance of the Labor Movement

"Ask anyone who has ever had close dealings with young workers, how much it often takes to undo the ignorance and the cynicism that they come out of school with, concerning labor and labor unions; and he will readily agree that it is in 'their own interests' -- and in the interests of the labor movement -- the hundreds of thousands of high-school graduates entering the work-force each year, to know a great deal more of the facts of life."

The Worker,
May 25, 1958, p. 10.

4. Negro Youth

"...what of the awful extra burdens of Negro youth? Deprived in the largest percentage of professional and skilled training, barred in the majority from apprenticeship-training programs, and then facing the 'normal' discrimination burdening any Negro job-seeker, the Negro youth starting out, life and seeking work is facing heart-breaking obstacles. And this is true in 'prosperous' times; it is a thousand times more true as the first hints of a break in the blue skies of 'prosperity' begin to appear."

Pettis Perry, "The Party and the Negro People," Political Affairs, February, 1958, p. 21.

"History offers Negro youth both the privilege and the opportunity to stand forth today as foremost among those fighters against American imperialism, the most rapacious, most ruthless and merciless social force humanity has ever known."

The Worker,
April 6, 1958, p. 11.

5. Juvenile Delinquency in the Soviet Union

"JUVENILE DELINQUENCY has been steadily declining in the USSR since the war, and crime by youth under 18 is now down to a tiny fraction of the country's total offenses..."

The Worker,
May 4, 1958, p. 8.

"On Friday, Feb. 7, headlines heralded the expulsion of 600 pupils from the N. Y. City public schools. By Sunday it was announced as over 900. The Board of Education, acting in this unlawful and arbitrary manner, estimates

that 1% of the total school population, or 10,000 children, are 'seriously aggressive and disruptive,' hinting at further action. Those expelled are pupils charged with 'a violation of law involving violence or insubordination.'

"What a terrible thing this is to be blazoned to the world. No such story ever comes out of a Socialist country, as a solution of juvenile delinquency, where adequate facilities are provided for their special treatment...."

The Worker,
February 23, 1958, p. 8.